REPORT RESUMES

ED 013 862 56 UD 004 250

SOME EFFECTS OF AUDIO-VISUAL TECHNIQUES ON ASPIRATIONAL LEVEL AND ETHNOCENTRIC SHIFT. FINAL REPORT.

BY- TEAHAN, JOHN E.
WISCONSIN UNIV., MILWAUKEE
REPORT NUMBER BR-5-0785 PUB DATE SEP 67
REPORT NUMBER NDEA-VIIA-1391
GRANT OEG-7-59-0502-281
EDRS PRICE MF-$0.75 HC-$7.52 188P.

DESCRIPTORS- *NEGROES, *CAUCASIAN STUDENTS, *CHANGING ATTITUDES, ATTITUDE TESTS, AUDIOVISUAL COMMUNICATION, COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS, ELEMENTARY SCHOOL STUDENTS, JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS, CLASS ATTITUDES, DISCRIMINATORY ATTITUDES (SOCIAL), NEGRO ATTITUDES, *FILMS, EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS, CONTROL GROUPS, SELF CONCEPT, *ASPIRATION, TABLES (DATA), NDEA TITLE VII

TWELVE SHORT FILMS REPRESENTING TWELVE SUCCESSFUL NEGRO AND WHITE MEN WERE SHOWN TO EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS OF STUDENTS FROM WHITE AND PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO ELEMENTARY AND JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS. PRETESTING AND POSTTESTING INSTRUMENTS MEASURED THE STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THEIR OWN AND OPPOSITE RACE AND THEIR "WISHED FOR" AND PREDICTED VOCATIONAL GOALS. THE EFFECT OF THE FILMS ON NEGRO AND WHITE STUDENTS IN BOTH A SMALL MID-WESTERN CITY AND IN A LARGE EASTERN METROPOLITAN AREA WAS STUDIED. SIGNIFICANTLY, AFTER THE FILMS THE DEGREE OF PREJUDICE IN AN ALL-WHITE SUBURBAN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL ACTUALLY INCREASED WITH THE LEVEL OF THE STUDENTS' SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS. THESE MIDDLE-CLASS STUDENTS MAY HAVE PERCEIVED THE SUCCESSFUL NEGROES AS A STATUS THREAT. IN CONTRAST, AT AN URBAN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL WITH A 47 PERCENT WHITE POPULATION, THERE WAS LESS PREJUDICE AMONG THE MIDDLE-CLASS STUDENTS THAN AMONG THE LOWER-CLASS STUDENTS, WHO ALONG WITH NEGRO STUDENTS HAVE A LOW ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL AND THUS MAY HAVE NEEDED TO RATE NEGROES NEGATIVELY TO MAINTAIN WHAT LITTLE STATUS SUPERIORITY THEY COULD CLAIM AS WHITES. NEGRO ELEMENTARY STUDENTS BECAME MORE POSITIVE TOWARDS THEIR OWN RACE, BUT EXPRESSED A SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASED HOSTILITY TOWARDS WHITES. ALSO, NEGRO ELEMENTARY AND JUNIOR HIGH STUDENTS PREDICTED FOR THEMSELVES A HIGHER VOCATIONAL LEVEL IN TERMS OF ALREADY STATED "WISHED FOR" GOALS. APPENDIXES INCLUDE THE FILM PRESENTATION INSTRUCTIONS AND PRETESTING AND POST-TESTING INSTRUMENTS. (LB)

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FINAL REPORT
Title VII Project Number 1391
Grant Number OE-7-59-0502-281

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September, 1967

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

Some Effects of Audio-Visual Techniques on Aspirational Level and Ethnocentric Shift

Title VII Project Number 1391
Bureau Number 5-0785
Grant Number OE-7-59-0502-281

John E. Teahan

September, 1967

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a NDEA Research Grant under Title VII Project Number 1391 with the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

Department of Student Counseling
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The investigator is grateful to many people who helped with this project, and it would be impossible to list them all by name. The City of Racine, Wisconsin, its Board of Education and those school principals, teachers and students who participated in this study will always be remembered. During this study, the author became very aware of the fact that although one may have an idea, and although one may interest the federal government in supporting that idea financially, an equally crucial aspect of any investigation is to find a place to conduct the study and to have access to subjects. The school officials of Racine, who are and have been very interested in alleviating, in any way possible, any racial problems which might exist in their schools, were helpful beyond the investigator's wildest expectations. A debt of gratitude is also owed to the City of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania school system which, like Racine, also saw merit in this study and allowed the investigator access to one of their high schools. The investigator especially appreciates the important liaison work of Dr. Sanford Golin of the University of Pittsburgh's Psychology Department and the cooperation of F. Gardner Gillen, principal of the Schenley High School.

To. Dr.'s Frank E.X. Dance and Ruane Hill of UWM the investigator is indebted for their encouragement and assistance from this project's inception. The help of many others must also be acknowledged including James Hug for statistical work, Gerry Goodrich for computer programming, Dr. Mark Knapp, Craig Halverson, and Philip Wroblewski who were involved in a variety of capacities, Marilyn Nerby for secretarial assistance, and a host of others who were all so valuable in bringing this project to a close. The cooperation of the Departments of Speech and Student Counseling, UWM, should also be mentioned, as well as the personnel from audio-visual aids who were generous with both advice and equipment whenever it was needed. Last, and certainly not least, the investigator wishes to express his appreciation to Ash Films, Madison, Wisconsin and in particular to A. Stuart Hanisch, Director, and George Allez, Assistant Director, who gave far more of their time than they may have originally anticipated because of their interest in the goals of this study. However, not only must the film makers be thanked, but the film subjects as well, for they were, after all, the most important ingredients in the project pie. Their names and the names of their companies or institutional affiliations who were so generous with all of their facilities are: Dr. Twylie Barker, Ph.D., Political Scientist, University of Illinois; Richard Hunt, Sculptor; Louis Langston, Executive-

trainee, Carson, Pirie, Scott & Company; Judge Abraham L. Marovitz, LL.B., United States District Court, Chicago, Illinois; John Moutousamy, B.S. Arch., Architect; Sterling Quinlan, Vice-President Field Enterprises, General Manager WFLD-TV, Chicago; Don Richards, Systems Engineer, IBM Corporation; Edmund Rooney, Reporter, Chicago Daily News; Dr. Vin Rosenthal, Ph.D., Clinical Psychologist, Northwestern University Medical School; Dr. Theodore Sherrod, M.D., Ph.D., Physician-Pharmacologist, University of Illinois Medical School; Steven Sichak, M.S., Senior Research Chemist, Toni Co.; George L. Weisbard, LL.B., C.P.A., Accountant. And to the man who asked all the questions - Louis "Studs" Terkel, WFMT, Chicago - a special note of thanks for his untiring efforts and his absolute wizardry at helping film subjects feel relaxed and comfortable during interviews.

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Problem

Too often the complaint is made that Negroes in America are not taking enough initiative in improving their situation. They are also counseled to be patient and soon they, like the Irish in Massachusetts or the Italians in New York, will find their place in our society. The inappropriateness of these comparisons is clearly reflected in a recent article of S. I. Hayakawa (1963) who states, "The situation of the American Negro...is extremely different. He knows no ancestors in Africa whose names fill him with pride. He has behind him no social organization comparable to the Chinese family organization. Completely cut off from the culture of his West African ancestors, his ideas of political prominence, physical beauty, intellectual attainment or social prestige are provided for him by the white world--which rejects him."

It is only in very recent years that pressure has begun to mount regarding even acknowledging the fact that the Negro had a place in American history. He has remained an invisible man in our culture whose presence was acknowledged only when he threatened our complacency. This has had an obvious effect on both the Negro and the white, the repercussions of which have often made the former defensively contemptuous of the white man's laws and values, especially since it was felt to be a hopeless task to try and compete within this frame of reference. Among whites it has only helped to reinforce the already prevalent attitude that the Negro has done nothing to improve himself or his position in society.

The present study addressed itself to the image of the Negro both among Negroes and among whites.

Studies by the Clarks (1947, 1950), Landreth and Johnson (1953), Mann (1958), Marks (1943) and others have all shown that not only does the Negro recognize at an early age that his skin color differs, but that there was a tendency for almost all Negro children to prefer white skin and that this even persists into adulthood. Young children, whether they are Negro or white, also learn early to assign poorer houses and less desirable roles to Negro dolls. This lack of development of a sence of racial pride and resulting demoralization, especially when there are few individuals within the immediate environment to look up to, identify with, and reverse this trend of self-hatred, was felt to have great impact upon the attempts of the Negro youth to set up goals having to do with achievement and success.

It was further hypothesized that the Negro, because of his lack of history, is forced, even more than other minority groups, to look to more contemporary models in order to enhance self esteem and find some sense of value and worth. The absence of good models within his immediate environment, particularly in the lower socio-economic and culturally deprived areas, influences his whole range of values, particularly those dealing with level of aspiration and motivation to achieve. This is, of course, especially true in the more rural areas of the south where a chronic condition of cultural deprivation may even result in impaired intellectual capacity; Young and Bright (1954), Teahan and Drews (1962). Although there have been attempts on the part of Negro publications to point out that the Negro is making contributions to society in more than the entertainment and sports worlds, there has been little real acknowledgement of this from the white community whose opinion is still, albeit ambivalently, given great weight. Successful Negroes, whether they be scholars and scientists, business executives or skilled craftsmen and technicians have remained shadowy figures and invisible men who have failed to have much impact on the youth who need them most. Thus, in the present study an attempt was made to bring successful Negroes out of the shadows and allow young Negroes an opportunity to meet and to know them...to enter their lives, at least momentarily, through the medium of motion pictures, and hopefully to come away with something of value which may even alter the course of their lives.

The second part of the study addressed itself to the impact that such successful Negroes might also have upon the white community itself which, in the past, has been able to ignore or remain unaware of their presence either through design or through ignorance. There has already been much evidence which suggested that a great deal of racial bias is connected to inaccurate and limited information about Negroes (Brophy, 1956; Gundlach, 1956; MacKenzie, 1948). Byrne and Wong (1962), for example, found that highly prejudiced persons assume greater dissimilarity between themselves and Negroes regardless of the kind or direction of their preferences, and there was even evidence in their study that a positive shift in the attitude of whites occurred towards those Negroes who were perceived as having attitudes congruent with their own. Other investigators have shown that attraction is a function of perceived attitude similarity (Byrne, 1961; Smith, 1957) or belief-congruence (Rokeach, Smith and Evans, 1960). Thus it was hypothesized that if an opportunity was created which would allow white youths to meet Negroes who reflected, in their lives, the goals and aspirations of these same youths, a positive shift in their attitudes towards race would take place.

Procedure

For purposes of clarity the paper that follows will be divided into certain subsections. This is because the study itself deals with two separate aspects - i.e. the effect of the films on Negroes and the impact of these same films on white students. Also, the data discussed in Section A, which deals with Negroes and in Section B, which deals with white students, was collected in a small, midwestern city. Here the films were shown to students in their classrooms so that the group size ranged from 20 to 35 students. Section C deals with data collected in a large eastern, metropolitan area and the films were shown to one experimental group of over 100 students. Modifications, both in the order of film presentation and in the tests used, were introduced and the student population was older. Hence this section of the study will be discussed separately and all results will then be integrated in the final summary.

Model Selection for Films and Film Production.

Twelve men (6 Negro and 6 white males) were chosen as the subjects for twelve films which ranged in length from 15 to 25 minutes. Negroes were chosen from those occupational areas where they had either been previously excluded because of prejudice or where they had been active but unpublicized.

The following list of men were chosen and used as the subjects of films.

Negroes

Richard Hunt	Sculptor
Theodore Sherrod, M.D., Ph.D.	Physician-Pharmacologist, Univ. Ill. Med. School
Twylie Barker, Ph.D.	Political Scientist, Univ. Ill.
Donald Richards	Systems Engineer, IBM
John Moutousamy, B.S., Arch.	Architect
Louis Langston	Executive-in-training, Carson, Pirie & Scott

Whites

Vin Rosenthal, Ph.D.	Clinical Psychologist, Northwestern Med. School
George L. Weisbard, LLB, C.P.A.	Accountant (CPA)
Abraham Marovitz, LLB	Federal Judge, District Court
Edmund Rooney	Reporter, Chicago Daily News
Sterling Quinlan	Vice President, Field Enterprises. General Manager, Radio and TV
Steven Sichak, M.S.	Senior Research Chemist, Toni Company

Although it had been originally felt that the white subjects used would merely serve to mask the true purpose of the films (i.e. the impact of successful Negroes on Negro and white youth) this intent was modified during model selection. Instead, white subjects were chosen who had themselves overcome religious, economic or personal obstacles and who might also serve as some inspiration for youth. Thus two of the subjects chosen, George Weisbard, accountant, and Abraham Marovitz, judge, were both born in poverty and had to overcome severe economic problems to reach success. In addition both Weisbard and Vin Rosenthal - clinical psychologist, suffered from religious prejudice and Rosenthal had a severly disturbed childhood and adolescence which was only overcome through professional help. Steven Sichak - chemist, worked in the steel mills to put himself through school and Sterling Quinlan - TV and communications, was a high school dropout who became a hobo during the 30's but who later returned to school and worked his way in the field of radio to the Vice-Presidency of the American Broadcasting Corporation and finally to the Vice-Presidency of Field Enterprises and general manager of WFLD-TV, Chicago. Edward Rooney - reporter, was chosen because he covered the Selma march and is active fighting block-busting on the part of real estate companies in his neighborhood which is now becoming integrated.

Possibly only two of the Negroes chosen had what could be called "middle-class" backgrounds, and all had been born in ghettoes or equally undesirable settings. Richard Hunt - sculptor, now has an international reputation in his media and still lives in what can only be described as a very poor neighborhood. Theodore Sherrod, who has both an M.D. and a Ph.D. in pharmacology was the son of a sharecropper who did not even begin to attend school until the age of 9. Twiley Barker - political scientist was also born and raised in a small town in the South and has just published a book dealing with the most significant legislation of the Supreme Court in the past 10 years and its repercussions. Lewis Langston - executive-in-training with Carson, Pirie & Scott started in the stockroom and is now slated to become a buyer next year. Don Richards - system engineer for IBM was the son of a postal employee and probably has the most middle-class background of all Negro subjects but was chosen because of his personable manner and intensely interesting work. John Moutousamy - architect, had just received approval of his housing project for middle income poeple by the city of Chicago. This is to be the first integrated housing project financed entirely by Negro capital in the city of Chicago.

The general format used in each film was to have the first half deal with the occupation of the person involved. Thus the interview with the film subject was done at his place of business and focused on the nature of his work, the educational requirements, the satisifactions he found in it, the potentials this field offered to new persons entering it, etc. The second half of the movie was filmed in the subject's home and here members of the family were introduced. In this section the interviewer attempted to uncover more personal information about the man himself, his early childhood, events and persons which he felt shaped his life, his goals for himself and his children, etc. It was actually this part of the film that the investigator wished to stress most because of his interest in having the viewer come away from a movie with the feeling that he had just met someone new whom he understood, at least to some degree, and whom he, hopefully, liked as a person.

Film Introduction and Pre- Post-Test Instructions:

One of the most important features of the experiment which the investigator tried to control was that the students used as experimental subjects did not associate the film experience with pre- or post-testing. This, it is felt, was accomplished and there was no evidence that any student realized that the tests, which were given one month prior to the first film and one month following the last film, had any connection with the films which were shown on a once a week basis in his classroom during the intervening period of time. The films themselves were introduced to students as a new method of imparting vocational information - new, because of the fact that the films would not only allow the viewer to learn about the occupation in question, but would also give a glimpse into the person involved in the occupation. Therefore, the films would allow the student to meet the person's family, learn about his hopes, attitudes towards life and the early experiences which may have played some role in his vocational choice. It was also emphasized that because this method was a new approach to vocational films, the reaction of the students to them was important in order to determine whether this method would be expanded. Thus, after each film the student's reaction to the film would be gauged by means of a short questionnaire.[1]

Pre-testing, which was done by someone other than the persons who showed the films, was introduced as an experiment involving the ability to tell about people simply on the basis of how they look. The experimenter went into some detail about the hypothesis that some psychologists feel that we may react unconsciously to tiny cues in the faces of people which may give us information even though we may be unaware that we are actually receiving it. They were also told that other tests would be administered which were felt to measure things related to this ability. All students appeared to accept this explanation regarding the purpose behind testing. Post-testing[2] was explained in terms of the experimenter's desire to determine whether the experience of having once tried to tell about people simply on the basis of how they looked, enabled the subject to do better at this task than someone doing it for the first time. Since not all experimentals (students who saw the films) or controls (students who did not see the films) had been pre-tested, this explanation also seemed to be accepted and at no time was there any hint that a student connected the experimenter with the film experience.

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[1] Exact copies of the film instructions and the questionnaire are reproduced in the appendix. See Table of Contents for page number.

[2] Exact copies of pre- and post-testing instructions are reproduced in the appendix. See Table of Contents for page number.

The Non-Pretested Sample:

Edling (1963) had concluded from his study that pretesting depresses post-testing scores in the affective realm. However, his results were felt to be an artifact caused by post-testing students only three days after pretesting. Edling had argued that tested attitudes are forgotten at the same rate as newly learned material in order to justify his short delay between pre- and post-testing. This argument seemed weak in view of the fact that an attitude, which may have existed for years, cannot be equated with a newly learned poem or piece of prose. However, a large sample of non-pretested experimentals and controls was included in the present study to test Edling's hypothesis. It was also felt that having students in each school who had not been pre-tested, but who were still experiencing the experimental conditions (seeing films), might also help to disguise the fact that the pre- and post-tests were connected to the film experience in some way.

Although the non-pretested data was not used in the final comparison between experimentals and controls because discrepancy scores (between pre- and post-tests) were felt to be more sensitive measures, comparisons between the post-test scores of pre- and non-pretested students were made in order to determine whether Edling's conclusions were due to his experimental procedure, i.e. the too short delay between pre- and post-testing. These are reported in a separate section.

Film Presentation (For Sections A and B)

Films were shown to experimental students on a weekly basis in their classrooms. Order of presentation was: clinical psychologist, chemist, systems engineer, architect, newspaper reporter, accountant, political scientist, TV executive, executive-trainee, federal judge, sculptor, and physician-pharmacologist.

Tests Administered (For Sections A and B)

1. Five photographs of anonymous males (two Negroes and three whites). Presentation was made, using individual photograph booklets, in a White, White, Negro, White, Negro order. Each student was required to make a judgment about the person in the picture in terms of: (a) The student's first five hunches (two hunches for elementary students) or guesses as to the probable occupation of the man in the picture. (b) His first five hunches (two hunches for elementary) as to the occupation he felt most sure was not the real occupation of the pictured person. These

were chosen from a list provided, which ranged from menial labor to professional positions, and the first choice of each was then scored on the North-Hatt scale of occupational prestige. (c) The personality of the pictured person.[1] Here Grade IX students rated each photo using a list of traits scored on a five point scale. Grade V and VI students used a simplified form of this and traits were scored on a four point scale.

Traits used in the test form for Grade IX students, although presented in a randomly determined order, could be grouped as follows:

(i) Unfavorable traits (Negro stereotypes) - dishonest; stupid; superstitious; immoral; irresponsible.

(ii) Favorable traits (Negro stereotypes) - cheerful; musical; athletic; happy-go-lucky; deeply religious.

(iii) Unfavorable traits (Non-stereotypes) - stubborn; moody; sarcastic; selfish; boasting.

(iv) Favorable traits (Non-stereotypes) - patient; sincere; loyal; generous; courteous.

Grade V and VI students received a total score on each photo for the following six traits scored on a four point basis: sure of self; stupid; bad; dirty; lazy; feels as good as anybody else.

Each photograph then received occupational prestige ratings and scores in terms of negative and positive trait assignments made to Negro and white photographs.

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[1] Secord and associates (1956, 1959) have done considerable work using this photograph technique in measuring ethnocentrism among southern whites. The investigator is grateful to Secord for the use of some of his photos.

2. Vocational Aspirations (Used in integrated schools only because of the primary interest in changes among Negroes) - Obtained by taking the North-Hatt ratings of occupations (average of two responses) given to each of the following questions: "What I'd like to become in the future" and "What I think I'll actually end up as." The numerical discrepancy between pre- and post-testing for each question was analyzed.

3. Social Survey Questions: (Used only in one all white junior high school) - A modidication of the California E and F scales - responses to only 7 items dealing with Negroes and 8 dealing with foreigners or minority groups were scored. Analysis was made in terms of discrepancy between pre- and post-testing for total prejudice scores towards Negroes and towards foreigners.

Copies of all tests are contained in the appendix. Only the first page of the trait rating of photographs for elementary and junior high school students is included, however. None of the numerical scores for occupations, traits or Social Survey Questions, which are reproduced in the appendix, were contained in the tests administered to students. See Table of Contents for exact page numbers.

Subjects:

Because of the large numbers of categories into which subjects must be placed for purposes of analysis, (i.e. Negro elementary; Negro Junior high school; white suburban elementary; white suburban junior high school; white elementary integrated school; white junior high integrated school;) the subject samples will be described separately as their test results are presented.

Test Analysis:

Because of the fact that discrepancy scores between pre- and post-testing are felt to be the most sensitive measure of change, almost all analyses were made in terms of scores derived by subtracting post-test scores from pretest scores. In those cases where a non-pretested sample is available, a comparison was made between the post-test scores of pre- versus non-pretested subjects only to test Edling's (1963) hypothesis that pretesting depresses post-test scores in the affective realm.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Part A Effects on Negroes

1. Wished For and Predicted Goals
2. (a) Photograph Technique for Elementary Negro Students
   (b) Photograph Technique for Negro Junior High Students

Part B Effects on Whites

1. Social Survey Questions
2. Photograph Technique for White Junior High Students
3. Photograph Technique for White Elementary Students
4. The Non-Pretested Sample

Part A

Effect on Negroes

In this section the effects of the films on Negroes will be reported. As mentioned previously, the main underlying assumption was that the Negro, because of his lack of history, is forced more than other minority groups to look to more contemporary models in order to enhance self esteem and find some sense of worth. There is ample evidence in the literature to indicate that the Negro in our culture often suffers a great deal from a damaged concept of self. Studies by the Clarks (1947, 1950), Landreth and Johnson (1953), Mann (1958), Marks (1943) and others have all shown that not only does the Negro child recognize at an early age that his skin color differs, but there is a tendency for almost all Negro children to prefer white skin and this even persists into adulthood. Young children, whether they are Negro or white, also learn early to assign poorer houses and less desirable roles to Negro dolls. This lack of development of a sense of racial pride and resulting demoralization, especially when there are few individuals within the immediate environment to look up to, identify with, and reverse this trend of self-hatred, was felt to have great impact upon the attempts of Negro youth to set up goals having to do with achievement and success.

Another important aspect of the problem has been commented upon by Trueblood (1960) who pointed out that most Negro youth seemed to be almost totally ignorant about the community in which they lived and the vocational opportunities actually available to them. As Grambs (1965) has commented, "Although many Negroes may today be aware of the outstanding few Negroes in sports, entertainment, and diplomacy, few know of the middle group of Negroes working in the skilled trades, businesses and other ordinary occupations." Lott and Lott (1963) have even stated "We would predict a real change in the level of academic accomplishment among Negroes would be one of the major consequences of a greater availability of Negro models who could illustrate that such achievement "pays off" ...."(p. 155).

The following represents an attempt to test this prediction of Lott and Lott through the medium of motion pictures.

1. Wished For and Predicted Goals

Subjects*

Elementary Students: 90 fifth and sixth grade Negro students of both sexes (50 experimentals and 40 controls) were selected from three predominantly Negro elementary schools whose population ranged from 60 percent to 80 percent non-white.

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* Since the computer was instructed to discard any subject with incomplete test data during any specific analysis, subject number may change throughout this paper from one presentation of test results to the next.

Junior High School Students: 49 Grade IX Negro students (29 experimentals and 20 controls) of both sexes were selected from a junior high school with a 50 percent non-white population.

Instrument.

(a) Goals - Students were asked to list, in order of preference, the two occupations or jobs that they would most like to do after they had finished school. They were told not to consider their abilities or job opportunities but should make their choices in terms of whether they felt they would be happy in the work. They thus responded with two choices to the statement: I would most like to become a:

(b) Predictions: Here they were told to try and be realistic and to put down those two jobs that they actually felt they might end up doing. They were then asked to respond with two choices to the statement: I think I'll probably end up as:

Scoring was done by averaging the first two choices to each question using the North-Hatt Scale of Occupational Prestige to score these choices. A discrepancy score was then obtained for each question by subtracting post-test scores from the pre-test scores to measure changes.

Results

The results of Table I indicate that elementary Negro students who saw the films changed significantly in terms of their differential reaction to the Goals versus Prediction question when compared

Table I

North-Hatt Scores for Goal and Prediction Choices of Grade Five and Six Negroes

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Subjects	89		
Film Effect	1	28.090	.22
Error	88	128.602	
Goals versus Predictions	1	101.250	1.02
Film Effect and Goals vs. Predictions	1	416.160	4.18*
Error	88	99.706	

Film Effect and Goals vs. Predictions Interaction

	Goals	Predictions	
Experimentals	+0.36	+1.58	+=increase
Controls	+2.62	-2.28	-=decrease
F ratios	1.14	3.31	

* significant at the .05 level

with their controls. The F of 4.18 was significant at the .05 level of confidence. A breakdown of this interaction reveals that this change took place primarily in terms of the Prediction question, although this F of 3.31 failed to meet the required level for statistical significance and fell between the .05 and .10 level. Essentially the controls showed an increase in their response to the Goals question and a decrease in their response to the Predictions question, while the experimentals moved in the opposite direction to the controls.

Table II reveals that the Grade IX Negroes behaved in an almost identical fashion to the elementary students. Again experimentals changed in terms of their differential response to Goals versus Predictions (F=7.77, significant beyond the .01 level). A breakdown of this interaction also revealed that response to Predictions was primarily responsible for the interaction, with experimentals showing an increase on this question when compared to controls (F=6.83, significant beyond the .05 level). As with the elementary students the controls increased in their Goals and decreased in their Predictions.

Table 2

North-Hatt Scores for Goal and Prediction Choices of Grade Nine Negroes

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Subjects	48		
Film Effect	1	40.594	.39
Error	47	102.924	
Goals versus Predictions	1	102.041	1.49
Film Effect and Goals vs. Predictions	1	531.615	7.77**
Error	47	68.390	

Film Effect and Goals vs. Prediction Interaction

	Goals	Predictions	
Experimentals	-1.38	+0.45	+ = increase
Controls	+2.05	-5.60	- = decrease
F ratios	2.04	6.83*	

* significant at .05 level

** significant at .01 level

Discussion

The predictions of Lott and Lott (1963) would seem to be supported by the data. The results obtained reveal that both elementary and Junior High school students changes significantly, following the film experience, in terms of their responses to the goals versus prediction questions. Further analysis of these significant interactions revealed that the experimental students had changed primarily in terms of their response to the second statement (What I think I'll actually end up as), with an F of 3.31 (between the .05 and .10 level) for elementary students and an F of 6.83 (significant beyond the .05 level) for junior high school students. Their controls, on the other hand, actually became more unrealistic about wished for goals (responding with higher occupational preferences to the first statement) and more pessimistic about the possibility of future success (responding with lower occupational preferences to the second statement) over a similar six month period of time.

These results could be interpreted as reflecting an increase in optimism and a more positive self-concept on the part of the experimentals for these students seem to be saying, "I can do better than I previously thought I could." At the same time inspection of the data shows that they are actually decreasing in terms of fantasized or wished for goals (What I'd like to be), while the controls, in contrast, are increasing in terms of wished for goals and decreasing in terms of their predictions of success in the future.

A parallel might be drawn here between these results and the findings of many studies done in the past on changes in ideal versus real self following therapy. These studies, you will recall, using Q technique, had individuals describe themselves in terms of their idealized (wished for) self and their real or perceived self. A hugh discrepancy between ideal and real self was felt to reflect frustration and poor adjustment since the individual was, in essence, saying that he was not the kind of person he wished to be. If we think of wished for goals (What I'd like to become) as ideal self, and think of predictions (What I think I'll really end up as) as real or perceived self, then we could say that the experimental Negroes show a decline in ideal-real self discrepancy - a finding which is also true of persons who experience positive changes following therapy. The controls, on the other hand, show a tendency for an even greater discrepancy between ideal and real self over time, which may reflect even greater frustration and self-dissatisfaction.

The fact that the occupations shown in the film, which were probably far beyond the reach of many or perhaps even most of these students, did not result in disillusionment is also of interest. The reason for this may again be found in Ginzberg et.al. (1962) who states that persons of exceptional accomplishment may be helpful to the Negro child if they can demonstrate to him that persons, not too different from himself, have been able to rise one or two rungs on the ladder of success.

2. Photograph Technique for Negro Subjects

(a) Elementary Students: 66 fifth and sixth grade Negro students of both sexes (40 experimentals and 26 controls) were obtained from three predominantly Negro elementary schools whose population ranged from 60 percent to 80 percent non-white.

Instrument.

Five photos of anonymous males (three white and two Negro). Each photo was rated in terms of the possible occupation of the pictured person[1] and the kind of person he probably was, judging from the appearance of his face. Traits, scored on a four point scale for each photo, included: stupid; bad; dirty; lazy; sure of self; and feels as good as anybody else. A discrepancy score was obtained by subtracting post-test scores from pre-test scores for each photo. In the analysis of variance it was also possible to note whether any significant interactions were occurring in terms of the use of specific traits. As will be noted in the results to be reported, however, none were found.

(b) Junior High Students: 45 ninth grade students of both sexes (28 experimentals and 17 controls) were obtained from School F which had a Negro population of somewhat greater than 50 percent. It was not possible to analyze the data of those Negroes at School W, which had only a 20 percent Negro population, because the number of controls in the final sample was too small.

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[1] In no cases among elementary or junior high school students, white or Negro, was this measure of value in differentiating experimentals from controls. These results are therefore reproduced only in the appendix.

Instrument.

Five photos of anonymous males identical to those used with elementary students. Each photo was rated in terms of the possible occupation[1] of the pictured person and the kind of person he probably was judging from the appearance of his face. Here, however, each photo was evaluated using twenty traits on a five point scale. Traits were subdivided into Negro negative stereotypes; Negro positive stereotypes; positive non-stereotypes and negative non-stereotypes. A discrepancy score was again obtained from each trait subgroup by subtracting post-test scores from pre-test scores for each photograph. As with elementary students, it was possible to note any significant interactions which occurred because of a differential use of stereotype or non-stereotype traits.

Results for Elementary Negro Students

Table III reveals a significant interaction between Film Effect and Race of Photograph among elementary Negro students (F=5.26, significant at the .05 level). A breakdown of this interaction,

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1 These results are reproduced only in the appendix.

Table III

Analysis of Personality Trait Assignments to White and Negro Photographs by Negro Elementary Students[1]

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Subjects	65		
Race of Photograph	1	9.056	4.59*
Film Effect - Race of Photo	1	10.388	5.26*
Father's Occup. - Race of Photo	1	4.108	2.08
Films - Fa.'s Occup. - Race	1	0.540	.27
Error	62	1.974	

Film Effect and Race of Photo Interaction

	MS	F ratios	Direction of Chang
Film Effect and White Photos	14.366	5.75*	Exper. more negati than contro
Film Effect and Negro Photos	1.137	.47	Exper. more positi than contro
Error	2.49		

* significant at the .05 level

Table IV

Pre- and Post-Test Means of Personality Trait Assignments Made to White and Negro Photographs by Negro Elementary Students

	Pre-White Means	Post-White Means	Pre-Negro Means	Post-Negro Means	N
Experimentals	1.88	1.99	1.88	1.76	40
Controls	2.05	1.90	1.95	1.91	26

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[1] The complete analysis of variance for elementary Negro students can be found in the appendix.

however, indicates that the major changes which took place were not, as had been originally predicted, in the treatment of Negro photographs, but instead, were in terms of the trait assignments made to white photos. Negro experimentals became significantly more negative towards white photographs following the films (F=5.75, significant at the .05 level). They also became slightly more positive towards Negro photos but this was merely a trend and was not statistically significant. An examination of pre- and post-test means in Table IV also reveals that the controls moved in the opposite direction over time, i.e. becoming more positive towards white photographs.

Also present in Table III is a significant Race of Photo interaction (F=4.59, significant at the .05 level). This is the result of more positive trait assignments made to white versus Negro photographs by students - a result which is, of course, reversed by the introduction of the films.

Results for Junior High School Negro Students

Table V does not show a significant Film Effect - Race of Photograph interaction, like that seen among elementary students, although the obtained F of 2.53 does approach significance. However, a significant Film Effect - Individual Photograph interaction does appear (F=7.69, significant at the .01 level) and a breakdown of this reveals why no significant Film Effect - Race of Photo occurred. Apparently, for some reason, certain individual

Table V

Analysis of Personality Trait Assignments to White and Negro Photographs by Junior High Negro Students[1]

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Subjects	44		
Race of Photograph	1	11.854	.59
Film Effect - Race of Photo	1	50.062	2.53
Error	43	19.776	
Individual Photograph	3	7.195	.41
Film Effect - Indiv. Photo	3	134.809	7.69**
Error	129	17.548	

Film Effect and Individual Photograph Interaction

	MS	F ratios	Direction of Change
Film Effect and Photo #1	1091.374	54.21**	Exper. more negative than controls
Film Effect and Photo #2	14.174	.70	Exper. more negative than controls
Film Effect and Photo #4	472.101	23.45**	Exper. more positive than controls
Film Effect and Photo #3	240.353	11.94**	Exper. more positive than controls
Film Effect and Photo #5	0.054	0	Exper. more positive than controls
Error	20.13		

** significant at the .01 level or beyond photographs had different stimulus values for these junior high students. Thus experimentals became highly negative towards Photograph #1 (who was white) following the films (F=54.21, significant far beyond the .01 level). There was no difference between experimentals and controls on Photograph #2 (another white). However, on Photograph #4, experimentals became significantly more positive in their trait assignments following the films (F=23.45, significant far beyond the .01 level). On the Negro photographs the experimentals also became significantly more positive towards Photograph #3 (F=11.94, significant beyond the .01 level), which was the first Negro photo encountered as well as the youngest appearing Negro in the group. However, there was no significant difference between experimentals and controls on Photograph #5, the oldest and last Negro photograph encountered.

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[1] The complete analysis of variance for junior high Negro students can be found in the appendix

It should also be noted that the pre- and post-test means shown in Table VI reveals that the controls, similar to the elementary students, seem to become more positive towards white

Table VI

Pre- and Post-Test Means of Personality Trait Assignments Made to White and Negro Photographs by Negro Junior High Students

	Pre-White Means	Post-White Means	Pre-Negro Means	Post-Negro Means	N
Experimentals	2.74	2.81	2.64	2.59	28
Controls	2.79	2.77	2.49	2.55	17

photos and more negative towards Negro photos while the experimentals have moved in the opposite direction.

Discussion

Contrary to prediction the greatest changes among Negroes, in their trait assignments to photographs, came about in their treatment of white rather than Negro photographs. Elementary students became significantly more negative towards white photos following the films rather than simply giving more positive trait assignments to Negro photos, as had been expected. Among the Grade IX students, however, the results were complicated by the apparent different stimulus values of certain photographs. In spite of this, however, the trend did seem to indicate that a positive change in the evaluation of Negroes (a more positive evaluation of self or race?) may be primarily reflected in terms of a more negative attitude towards whites. What this is felt to reflect is an exploding of the myth of white superiority as the Negro gains in self-esteem, almost as if he were saying to himself, "Not only am I better than I previously thought I was, but you (the whites), are much worse".

There is some support for this observation in the current trend towards "black power" and in the Black Muslim movement which first attempts to focus the attention of its members on the premise that the white man is a corrupt and evil devil in order to begin their program to instill a sense of racial pride. Feelings of rage towards whites, as increased self pride develops, have also been reported in the autobiographical experiences of such Negroes as Malcolm X (1965), Lena Horne (1966), James Baldwin (1961, 1963) and others.

One could also think of this phenomenon in terms of the Negro's identification with the aggressor, similar to the reaction reported by Bettelheim (1943) in his study of Jews during their internment in Nazi concentration camps. Through the process of identification, hostility towards the aggressor is turned against the self, or against others like oneself, with resulting loss of self-esteem. However, once this process is reversed the rage is directed outwards. One prominent aspect of this identification with the aggressor, among Negroes, is their wish to have whiter skin, as evidenced in the past popularity of skin bleaches and hair straighteners. The studies by the Clarks (1947, 1950) and others, already reported, in terms of Negro childrens preference for white versus Negro dolls, would also be an example of the results of this process. It is interesting to note, in this respect, that there is now a pronounced trend among Negroes to emphasize pride in the blackness of their skin, and untreated hair is increasing in popularity. This trend has also been accompanied by a marked rise in hostility towards whites who are now being eliminated from their previously held executive positions in CORE and other civil rights organizations.

It is difficult to determine, from the present data, why certain photographs had such different stimulus values for the older Negro students. They became significantly more negative towards the first white photograph, which may be a kind of order effect. Thus hostile feelings might have been directed against the first white photo encountered. Photograph #1 was also the youngest appearing white man and perhaps this may have played some role as well. It is interesting to note that it was the first and youngest appearing Negro photograph which received the most positive evaluation, following the films, which again could either be a similar kind of order effect or could be due to increased identification with this figure because of his younger appearance. The most difficult result to explain, however, is the significantly positive increase, which took place among experimentals, in their evaluation of Photograph #4, who was also white. The only explanation which the investigator can offer is that many students asked, during the pre- and post-testing, whether this was a picture of President Johnson. There was some slight similarity in appearance and it may be that because of the president's active role in civil rights legislation there was some carry-over of positive feelings to this photograph.

The question of whether an increase in racial pride among Negroes will also be accompanied by an increase in hostility towards whites, perhaps as only a temporary part of the transition, certainly has important implications in terms of the future of the civil rights movement. Cries for "black power" may well be expected to increase a great deal before they can be expected to decrease. As has already been mentioned, the effects of this may be that the Negro will turn against all whites as he seeks to find his own self-image and develop a more positive evaluation of himself as a Negro who wishes to be a Negro, rather than as a Negro who secretly wishes to be white. White support will not only be ignored but may be shunned with contempt. Certainly, there are signs that this has already begun. Unfortunately, as will be discussed in the next section, an increase in resistance among whites, perhaps particularly among the middle class who traditionally have been the greatest supporters of Negro civil rights, may also accompany the Negro's rise in status. Thus the possibility of even greater future racial conflict between races may be almost unavoidable.

Part B

Effect on Whites

This aspect of the study addressed itself to the image of the Negro among whites. As mentioned previously, there is already some evidence which suggests that much racial bias is connected to inaccurate and limited information about Negroes. Byrne and Wong (1962), for example, found that highly prejudiced persons assume greater dissimilarity between themselves and Negroes regardless of the direction of their preference, and there was even evidence in their study that a positive shift in the attitudes of whitesoccurred towards those Negroes who were perceived as having attitudes congruent with their own. Thus, it was felt, from this belief-congruence theory, that if an opportunity was created which allowed white youths to meet Negroes who reflected, in their lives, some of the goals and aspirations of these youths, a positive shift in their attitudes towards race would take place.

1. Social Survey Questions

Subjects.

178 male and female Grade IX students (89 experimentals and 89 controls) from an all white suburban junior high school (School S). Socio-economic level of students was gauged through father's occupation using the scale of Warner, Meeker and Eells (1949).

Instrument.

Social Survey Questions (S.S.Q.) - This is a modification of the Levinson F and California E Scales, and it contained a total of 38 items (See appendix for entire scale). Subjects indicated agreement or non-agreement with statements on a six point scale and each subject received a total score for seven items dealing with Negroes and a total score for eight items dealing with foreigner or minority groups. Analysis was made of the discrepancies obtained by subtracting post-test scores from pre-test scores for each subject.

Results of S.S.Q.

Table VII reveals that there were no overall significant film effects on the pre- post-test discrepancy scores of the Social Survey Questions until father's occupation was considered. Categories one through five on the Warner, Meeker and Eells' Scale were compared with categories six and seven. Essentially this meant comparing lower socio-economic students (those whose fathers were unskilled or minimally skilled laborers) with middle class students (there were very few students whose fathers were in the one or two categories). With socio-economic or occupational level of father considered, a significant interaction appeared with Film Effect (F=6.07, significant at the .05 level).

When this interaction was broken down, Table VIII reveals that students whose fathers had higher occupational ratings (one through five) had become significantly more prejudiced following the films (F=4.60, significant at the .05 level), while the lower socio-economic

Table VII

Effects of Films on Attitudes Towards Negroes, Foreigners and Minorities, and Interaction With Socio-Economic Level of Students

Source	df	MS	F
Subjects	177		
Film Effect	1	822.138	0.35
Father's Occupation	1	4443.536	1.86
Film Effect and Father's Occupation	1	14504.830	6.07*
Error	174	2387.898	
Target (Negro vs. Foreigner)	1	2974.273	1.81
Film Effect and Target	1	84.070	.05
Father's Occupation and Target	1	1817.598	1.12
Film Effect, Father's Occupation and Target	1	29.081	.02
Error	174	1624.508	

* Significant at .05 level

Table VIII

Analysis of Film Effect--Father's Occupation

Interaction

	MS	F	Direction
Films and High Occupation	9231.446	4.60*	Experimentals more prejudiced than controls
Films and Low Occupation	6095.523	3.04	Experimentals less prejudiced than controls
Occupation and Experimentals	17502.429	8.72**	High occupation more prejudiced than low occupation
Occupation and Controls	1445.938	.72	Low occupation more prejudiced than high occupation

* Significant at .05 level
** Significant at .01 level

students (with father's occupations in the six and seven categories) had become less prejudiced, although this failed to meet the required level for statistical significance (F=3.04, between the .05 and .10 levels).

Viewing this result another way, the interaction between father's occupation and the S.S.Q., among experimentals was highly significant (F=8.72, significant beyond the one percent level), while the interaction between occupation and scores on the S.S.Q. among the controls approached zero, and was even in the opposite direction to the experimentals. Thus, father's occupation or socio-economic status seemed to be an important factor in determining reaction to the films. It might also be noted that no significant interaction was found in terms of Target, i.e. prejudice increased towards both Negroes and foreigners or decreased towards both.

Discussion of S.S.Q. Results

Contrary to what might have been predicted from the belief-congruence theory, middle class, white, suburban students became more prejudiced after seeing films of middle class Negroes. This was true in spite of the fact that these Negroes should have reflected in their lives and attitudes a pattern of values similar to these white students. It should also be reported that an examination of the pre-test scores of high and low socio-economic experimentals revealed that the high occupation students had lower initial prejudice scores than did the low occupation group. The chi square of 3.3 just failed to meet the required 5 per cent level, however. This result is similar to other past investigations using the California E and F scales in which negative correlations were found between ethnocentrism and authoritarianism and intelligence or socio-economic status (Christie, 1954). The important thing to note in the present investigation, however, is that the supposed lower prejudiced, high occupation group became significantly more prejudiced following the films, and the higher prejudiced, low occupation groups became less prejudiced.

One must assume that the Negroes in the films represented a threat to these students and one possible explanation may be in terms of the very high occupational status of the film models. Since all of the Negroes shown fell into professional or semi-professional categories and chances are likely that in a great many cases, if not in most, they held positions and had achieved a higher level of success than had the fathers of these middle class students. An examination of the occupations of the middle class experimentals showed a preponderance of 3's, 4's and 5's, on the Warner, Meeker and Eells' scale, and only a very few 1's and 2's (professional and semi-professional). The neighborhood in which this school was located could be best described as lower-middle to middle-middle income group - a new housing development on the outskirts of a small midwestern city with houses probably ranging in price from $13,000 to $20,000. Thus, one might hypothesize that the obtained findings reflect some sort of status-threat and that these middle-class students were reacting to seeing Negroes who held positions as good as, or superior to those held by their fathers.

One might then ask why the lower class (unskilled labor) group did not feel similarly threatened. Perhaps the explanation for this resides in the fact that the occupations held by the Negro film models were too remotely separated from those held by the fathers of lower class students, and hence little threat existed. There is a multitude of research literature which might lend support to this explanation including the experimental research dealing with goal gradient phenomena (Dollard and Miller, 1950) and the fact that the closer one is to a goal, the greater is the ensuing frustration when one is blocked in attempts to attain it. Lewin's (1935) classical studies of frustration and aggression when children were faced with obstacles just prior to attaining a goal also comes to mind. Here, the amount of aggression shown by these children increased, after being blocked, as their proximity to the desired goal increased. Hence the lower class students, so far from the goal of professional status, were unaffected by the experimental films. It may also be true that these lower class families are more content with the level of success that has taken them out of the city and into the suburbs in comparison to their inner-city counterparts, and they are also less status oriented than their middle class neighbors.

These results, however, are not easily integrated into the body of research findings reported in the literature. For example, past studies seem to have indicated that contact with Negroes usually resulted in a decrease in prejudice, among college students and government employees (MacKenzie, 1948), workers (Gundlach, 1956, Palmore, 1955) seamen (Brophy, 1956), and in integrated housing projects (Deutsch and Collins, 1951; Wilner, Walkley and Cook, 1952), among housewives. Allport (1954) even concludes that "Occupational contact with the Negroes of equal status tends to make for lessened prejudice. It helps if one knows Negroes of higher occupational status than one's own" (page 276). This latter statement is contradicted by the present investigator's findings. However, one factor which, perhaps, is very important, is the time at which these previous studies were undertaken. The achieving Negro may well represent a greater threat today than he did twenty, or even ten, years ago, because the demands being made by Negroes for equal opportunity are becoming more vocal and the numbers of successful Negroes are increasing. Thus, what once might have been a rather curious oddity or which might have represented an opportunity for "liberal" condescension has now become a competitive, threatening work force, demanding rights and equality rather than being "humbly grateful" for any acceptance offered.

The fact that the middle class were most threatened by the highly successful Negroes also contradicts the observations of Bettleheim and Janowitz (1950) who found that upward mobility was negatively correlated to prejudice. However, they were dealing with initial prejudiced attitudes towards Negroes while the present investigator is dealing with an increase in prejudice among upwardly mobile whites when they are confronted by upwardly mobile Negroes. Bettleheim and Janowitz attributed their results to the fact that much prejudice is caused by the displacement of self-dissatisfaction and rage, similar to the phenomenon noted by Miller and Bugelski (1948) who found that experimentally frustrated boys showed a rise in prejudice towards minority group members, or Perison (1946) who commented on the rise of anti-semitism during depressions and war. However, as mentioned, today the strength of the Negro is growing, his demands for equal opportunity to pursue his goals are more vocal, the resultant threat to middle class in terms of status and competition may, therefore, be increasing, and it would not be too surprising to find that previous research results are true only for the conditions which existed at the time during which they were conducted.

The present investigator's results also offer a challenge to belief-congruence theory for they suggest that its importance may be far less than has been claimed by recent research. It would appear instead that prejudice and negative attitudes towards race might arise rapidly in terms of a situational threat regardless of perceived belief-congruence just as experiments associating punishment and names of countries were able to create negative attitudes towards Bolivians and Columbians (Stagner and Britton, 1949). The question also arises as to whether the lower socio-economic classes in School S would have shown an increase in prejudice if the films had shown movies of Negroes who were wlders, tool and die makers, carpenters or others who fell into a five category on the Warner, Meeker and Eells, since this is the group that should be the greatest threat to them? Do these results also have important implications for the whole future of the civil rights movement, particularly in terms of the role of the middle class from whom the greatest amount of support has come historically? What will happen to some of their more "liberal" attitudes towards Negroes when these Negroes reach a level of achievement and success which begins to offer competitive threat to the status or prestige needs of these whites? The riots which took place in the suburban areas of Chicago and Milwaukee during the past summer might already suggest the answer to these questions.

The comments above might apply only to suburban whites, however, since a different result seemed to appear among whites in the inner-city integrated schools following the films. Because of the fear of alienating Negroes the more direct measurement of attitudes towards race, such as the Social Survey Questions, was not used. Instead, it was hoped that the differential reaction to anonymous Negro and white photos would reflect changes in attitudes towards race both among Negroes and among whites. Thus the photograph technique was used at all junior high schools, including School S, while the S.S.Q. was utilized only at the latter. These results add a further dimension to the data already reported and discussed and they will now be presented to see what further light can be shed on this problem.

2. Trait Ratings of White and Negro Photographs for White Junior High School Students

An analysis of variance with all three schools pooled was first done and then simple effects for each school were analyzed separately to determine the origin of those significant interactions which appeared in the first analysis. These are reproduced in their entirety in the appendix. The results of each school will be presented and discussed separately here and following this a synthesis of results will be attempted. Results from School S, the all white suburban school, will be presented first. School F, which has a Negro population of slightly more than 50%, will be reported next, followed by School W, which has a 20% Negro population.

Instrument: Photographs of five anonymous males (three whites and two Negroes). Each photo was assigned a possible occupation[1] and was then rated on a five point scale on all of the following traits: Negro unfavorable stereotypes - dishonest, stupid, superstitious, immoral, irresponsible. Negro favorable stereotypes - cheerful, musical, athletic, happy-go-lucky, deeply religious. Unfavorably non-stereotypes - stubborn, moody, sarcastic, selfish, boasting. Favorable non-stereotypes - patient, sincere, loyal, generous, courteous.

School S.

Subjects: 136 white grade IX students composed of 68 experimentals and 68 controls with an equal number of higher (categories one through five on the Warner, Meeker and Eells scale) and lower (categories six and seven) socio-economic students in each group. Subjects were discarded randomly in order to equate cell frequencies.

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[1] The occupational assignments made to each photograph did not differentiate between experimentals and controls at either the elementary or junior high levels among either whites or Negroes. Thus these results are not presented in the main body of this paper but the complete analyses of variance for all schools, grade levels and races, on occupational assignments to photographs, are contained in the appendix.

Results at School S

The photograph - trait technique did not prove to be as sensitive a measure as the Social Survey Questions. Table IX contains some of the simple effects revealed by analysis of variance (see appendix for complete results). Again, as with the S.S.Q., father's occupation was found to interact significantly with trait assignments following the film experience. Thus Table IX reveals a significant interaction between father's occupation and trait scores for experimentals (F=4.87, significant at the .05 level), with low occupation experimentals showing more positive trait assignment to photographs, following films than high occupation experimentals. This, of course, agrees with the results found with the Social Survey Questions. The interaction of father's occupation in terms of trait assignment among controls approached zero.

Another statistically significant interaction which appeared was in terms of Film Effect - Occupation of Father - Personality Trait (F=17.0, significant beyond the .01 level). This seemed to indicate that experimental students from certain socio-economic levels were differing from their controls in terms of their use of certain categories of trait assignments to photographs (i.e. negative stereotypes, positive stereotypes, negative non-stereotypes or positive non-stereotypes). Further analysis of this interaction revealed that most of it was the result of a more negative ratings of photos using non-stereotype traits on the part of the higher socio-economic experimentals

Table IX

Analysis of Personality Trait Assignments to White and Negro Photographs by White Grade IX Students at School S[1]

Source	df	MS	F ratios	Direction
Subjects	135			
Father's Occupation and Experimentals	1	70.662	4.87*	High Occup. more neg. than lows
Father's Occupation and Controls	1	0.012	0	Lows more positive than highs
Error		14.51		
Films - Father's Occupation and Race of Photograph	1	11.488	.44	
Error		28.466		
Films - Father's Occupation and Traits (i.e.= and - stereo and = and - non-stereo)	3	246.672	17.00**	
Films - High Occupation - Non-Stereotype Traits	1	62.406	4.30*	Experimentals more neg. than controls
Films - Low Occupation - Non-Stereotype Traits	1	7.620	.52	Experimentals more pos. than controls
Error		14.51		

* significant at the .05 level
** significant at the .01 level

[1] The entire analysis of variance for all junior high schools pooled together as well as complete simple effects for each school are contained in the appendix.

(F=4.73, significant at the .05 level of confidence). It might also be noted that the lower socio-economic experimentals were in the opposite direction to this, a result which again parallels the S.S.Q. results in this school. This latter, admittedly, was only a trend.

Discussion of Results at School S

The results obtained from the photograph technique at this school are rather disappointing in view of the more marked differences found on the S.S.Q. However, higher socio-economic experimentals did rate the photographs more negatively following the films and this result parallels the results of the S.S.Q. They also tended to assign their negative ratings to photos using non-stereotype traits. It seems difficult to attribute this to an attempt to try and disguise or hide their prejudice since they were fairly open about these attitudes on the S.S.Q. However, the possibility exists that using stereotypes was too obvious for these students who instead preferred to express their prejudice more subtly.

It is also difficult to determine why they tended to rate all photos more negatively, rather than rating just the Negro photos in this fashion, although an examination of the pre- and post-test means in Table X does reveal that they were also the group who shifted in a negative direction towards Negro photos following the films. This shift, admittedly, was not found to be statistically significant, however. One could think of the more negative ratings of all photographs as a sort of stimulus generalization or displacement similar to the findings on the S.S.Q. where prejudice increased towards both Negroes and foreigners, following the films, among higher socio-economic students. However, as will be seen during the discussion of results from Schools F and W, the data obtained from the photograph technique are not easily interpreted at this time although various possible explanations will be offered during the synthesis at the end of this section.

Table X

Pre- and Post-Test Means[1] of Higher and Lower Socio-Econmic White Students at Schools S, F, and W, for White and Negro Photographs

		Pre-White Means	Post-White Means	Pre-Negro Means	Post-Negro Means
School S					
Higher Socio-Economic	Exper.	2.64	2.73	2.55	2.65
	Control	2.71	2.76	2.64	2.65
Lower Socio-Economic	Exper.	2.69	2.70	2.69	2.67
	Control	2.66	2.68	2.68	2.73
School F					
Higher Socio-Economic	Exper.	2.87	2.79	2.68	2.74
	Control	2.59	2.73	2.46	2.60
Lower Socio-Economic	Exper.	2.79	2.83	2.57	2.56
	Control	2.73	2.52	2.46	2.29
School W					
Higher Socio-Economic	Exper.	2.85	2.83	2.62	2.53
	Control	2.76	2.69	2.35	2.35
Lower Socio-Economic	Exper.	2.83	2.76	2.53	2.78
	Control	2.83	2.97	2.59	2.70

[1] These scores represent the means for individual photographs which ranged from one, for most positive, through five, for most negative.

School F (50% Negro)

Subjects: 44 grade nine students composed of 22 experimentals and 22 controls with an equal number of higher and lower socio-economic students in each group.

Results at School F

Table XI indicates a number of significant interactions among whites at this school with the largest Negro population. Breakdown of a significant Film Effect - Father's Occupation interaction (F=13.36, significant at the .01 level) reveals that higher socio-economic experimentals became more positive towards photographs, when compared with their controls, following the films (F=5.02, significant at the .05 level) while lower socio-economic experimentals became more negative (F=8.58, significant at the .01 level). As will be noted, however the interaction between Father's Occupation among Experimentals was non-significant (F=.32), while there was a highly significant interaction between Father's Occupation and trait assignments for Controls (F=21.21, significant beyond the .01 level). Thus, the main change seems to have taken place because of shifts among the controls.

Significant interactions also appeared in terms of rating white photographs with higher socio-economic students becoming more positive towards white photos (F=5.57, significant at the .05 level) and lower socio-economic students becoming more negative (F=6.85, significant at the .01 level).

Discussion of Results at School F

These results must be interpreted with caution. In the first place, the significant shifts took place in terms of all photographs rather than on just Negro photos. Indeed, a breakdown reveals that the greatest changes actually took place on white photos with higher socio-economic students becoming more positive in their evaluation of these, following the films, while lower socio-economic students became more negative. This is somewhat similar to School S where students became either positive or negative towards all photos but at School F, of course, the findings are reversed for now it is the lower socio-economic students who seem to be responding most negatively to the film experience. In addition, Table XI reveals that the actual changes came about not so much from experimentals as from controls. Indeed, there are only small changes in the pre- post-test means shown in Table X for either the higher or lower socio-economic experimentals and, instead, the films appear to have had somewhat of a leveling effect upon these students. The controls, on the other hand, have shifted, over time, in different directions, with lower socio-economic controls becoming more positive in their evaluation of white and Negro photographs and higher socio-economic controls becoming more negative. If we were to assume that the experimentals would have drifted in these same directions, if the films had not intervened, then we might say that the film experience had a positive effect on the higher socio-economic students by preventing a shift in a negative direction, while it impeded the development of more positive attitudes among lower socio-economic students.

What does this trend mean? One could interpret it as suggesting that in an integrated school with Negroes even in a slight majority, lower socio-economic students become more positively inclined towards their fellow Negro students. One might also wonder whether the positive shift towards the white photos represents some sort of stimulus generalization and perhaps more positive feelings towards all strangers or even towards self. However, when these students are shown films of successful Negroes some kind of threat emerges, perhaps having to do with status, and the development of these more positive attitudes is impeded. The higher socio-economic whites, on the other hand, over a similar period of time, tend to become more negative.

One might wonder whether there are socio-economic cliques formed in this school which determine whether, or how much, one associates with Negro students. If so, perhaps the lower socio-economic white might find his Negro counterpart (almost all Negroes in this school were from lower socio-economic backgrounds) shared a great deal in common with himself. Perhaps he might find some consolation in the fact that they both shared economic deprivations and the films, when introduced, then set up a cognitive dissonance with a resulting dampening effect on the positive attitude shift. The higher socio-economic student, on the other hand, may remain aloof, or perhaps he even equates social class differences with racial differences, thus reinforcing already existing Negro stereotypes.

Admittedly, it is impossible to do anything more than speculate from the present data. All one can state is that there is evidence that the films may have had a negative effect on lower socio-economic whites in a school with a high percentage of Negroes, perhaps counteracting the possible benefit of increased associations with Negroes by setting up some kind of status threat. Among higher socio-economic students the reaction seemed to be in the opposite direction.

School W (20% Negro)

Subjects: 76 grade nine students composed of 38 experimentals and 38 controls with an equal number of higher and lower socio-economic students in each group.

Results at School W

Table XII reveals a significant Film Effect - Father's Occupation - Race of Photograph interaction (F=9.68, significant at the .01 level) and a breakdown of this reveals that both white and Negro photos were responsible for the interaction (F=6.27 for white photos and F=3.84 for Negro photos, both significant at the .05 level). A further analysis indicates that it was primarily among lower socio-economic experimentals that change took place for they had become more positive towards white photographs (F=9.99, significant at the .01 level) and more negative towards Negro photographs (this F of 2.74 is not sufficient for statistical significance, however). Higher socio-economic experimentals show no significant differences but had tended to shift in a somewhat more positve direction on Negro photographs.

Table XI

Analysis of Personality Trait Assignments to White and Negro Photographs by White Grade IX Students at School F

Source	df	MS	F ratios	Direction
Subjects	43			
Film Effect and Father's Occupation	1	193.828	13.36**	
Films and High Occup.	1	72.820	5.02*	Exper. more positive than control
Films and Low Occup.	1	124.445	8.58**	Exper. more negative than control
Films - High Occup. and White Photos	1	80.742	5.57*	Exper. more positive than control
Films - High Occup. and Negro Photos	1	6.187	.42	Exper. more positive than control
Films - Low Occup. and White Photos	1	99.409	6.85**	Exper. more negative than control
Films - Low Occup. and Negro Photos	1	29.455	2.03	Exper. more negative than control
Father's Occup. and Experimentals	1	4.602	.32	Highs more positive than lows
Father's Occup. and Controls	1	307.782	21.21**	Lows more positive than highs
Error		14.51		

* significant at the .05 level

** significant at the .01 level

Table XII

Analysis of Personality Trait Assignments to White and Negro Photographs by White Grade IX Students at School W

Source	df	MS	F ratios	Direction
Subjects	75			
Film Effect-Father's Occup.-Race of Photo	1	140.411	9.68**	
Films-Father's Occup. - White Photos	1	90.948	6.27*	
Films-Father's Occup. - Negro Photos	1	55.684	3.84*	
Films-High Occup. - White Photos	1	4.246	.29	Experimental more negative than control
Films-High Occup. - Negro Photos	1	18.013	1.24	Experimental more positive than control
Films-Low Occup. - White Photos	1	130.561	9.00**	Experimental more positive than control
Films-Low Occup. - Negro Photos	1	39.803	2.74	Experimental more negative than control
Error	.	14.51		

* significant at the .05 level

** significant at the .01 level

Discussion of Results at School W

Here again, as with School F, lower socio-economic students show a tendency to increase in negative ratings of Negro photos following the film experience. Breakdown of a significant Film Effect - Occupation of Father - Individual Photograph interaction (F=3.54, significant at the .05 level) even revealed that lower socio-economic experimentals at School W became especially negative towards one particular Negro photo (the oldest and last Negro photo presented) and this F of 5.16 was statistically significant at the .05 level. Higher socio-economic experimentals, on the other hand, showed an opposite, though non-significant trend. However, in this school, an increase in negative feelings towards Negro photos was accompanied by a significant increase in positive feelings towards white photos. This could be interpreted as an attempt to reassert attitudes of white superiority by these apparently threatened lower socio-economic experimentals so that not only is the Negro damned, but the white is praised.

Discussion of Results at Schools S, F and W

In School W, as in School F, the major shift following the film experience seems to take place among the lower socio-economic students. They both tend to become more negative in their evaluation of Negro photographs. Contrary to School F, however, lower socio-economic experimentals at W became significantly more positive in their evaluation of white photos. The apparently negative shift among this same group at School F was, as mentioned, primarily due to the high positive shift among their controls. However, an examination of the change scores from pre- to post-testing shown in Table XIII does give an overall view which does reveal that the films had their most negative effect among higher socio-economic experimentals at School S and among lower socio-economic experimentals at the integrated schools F and W. In a similar fashion their effect was positive among lower socio-economic whites at School S and among higher socio-economic whites at F and W. It should also be noted that the apparently large negative shift among lower socio-economic controls at School W is primarily due to a shift on white photos.

Table XIII

Mean Change Scores from Pre- to Post-Testing for Higher and Lower Socio-Economic Whites at Schools S, F and W[1]

	Exp. High Occup.	Exp. Low Occup.	Control High Occup.	Control Low Occup.
School S	-.438	+.018	-.169	-.163
School F	+.100	-.105	-.714	+.959
School W	+.266	-.276	+.187	-.629

+ is change in a more positive direction

- is change in a more negative direction

[1] Means per photo, per trait category (sum of five actual responses).

How can these apparently contradictory findings at Schools F and W regarding white photographs be explained? One could interpret the more positive shift at W as a reassertion of feelings of white superiority following the cognitive dissonance which resulted from being confronted by successful Negroes. Why, however, does this only take place at School W, and why is the shift in an apparantly different direction at School F? Certainly there are major differences between these two schools simply in terms of their racial composition since Negroes represent a definite minority (20%) at School W and are in a slight majority at school F, (somewhat over 50%). In the same way the lower socio-economic group is a majority at F, since all of the Negroes fall into this category, although at both schools there seems to be a fairly even division of higher and lower socio-economic white students (using the socio-economic divisions adopted by the investigator). However, it is still difficult to see how racial or socio-economic ratios can explain why the apparently threatened lower-socio-economic students at one school downgrade Negro photos and at the same time seem to generalize and downgrade anonymous white photos as well, while at another school a negative rating of Negro photos is accompanied by a seemingly compensatory positive evaluation of white photos.

Some of these differences which seem to emerge when the results at School F are compared to the results at W, are, as has already been discussed, due to the fact that lower socio-economic students at F may develop more positive feelings towards Negroes, over time, perhaps as a result of their greater associations with them. (i.e. controls shifted in a more positive direction). This did not seem to take place at W where lower socio-economic controls shifted in a slightly more negative direction towards both white and Negro photos. One might interpret these findings as perhaps indicating that the lower socio-economic groups of whites may be forced into greater interaction with Negro students as the racial ratio increases and they may find that their values and ideas are not as different from this target group as they had formerly believed. Thus, belief congruence might be playing some role in decreasing prejudice among these students so long as prestige or status threat is not called into play. However, as the data seems to suggest, once films of successful Negroes are introduced, the positive effects of such interaction are undone or inhibited possibly because of threat to status. The higher socio-economic at these integrated schools, on the other hand, do not seem to change or benefit over time in the same way, either because they remain aloof and in cliques, or perhaps because social class differences operate and tend to simply reinforce previously existing stereotypes about Negroes which are then attributed to race rather than socio-economic influences.

Admittedly the data at this time cannot be adequately explained although one finding does seem clear - namely, that some groups of students who saw the films did change in a statistically significant fashion on certain aspects of their ratings of the photographs. For example, even at School S, where the S.S.Q. results have already shown that middle class students were most threatened by the films, the largest differences which appeared in the data, i.e. a negative loading of photos using non-stereotype traits, was among the higher socio-economic experimentals. It was also this group which has the most negative shift in their rating of Negro photos, although this result was not statistically significant. In a similar fashion at Schools F and W it was the lower socio-economic experimentals who tended to give the most negative ratings to Negro photos following the films, when compared to their controls, and it was among these groups that significant shifts took place in terms of their treatment of white photos as well.

It may well be that the inconsistencies seen in terms of their treatment of these white photos might be due to the fact that different defense mechanisms are being mixed and confounded. Thus, for example, in the case of individuals who rely heavily upon projection or displacement, a threat to status or prestige needs might result in rating all photos negatively, i.e. to damn everyone or see everyone as a hostile threat. Deniers, on the other hand, might tend to respond by inflating their own sense of importance and giving highly positive ratings to all white men. Thus there may be no consistent way in which any group responds to the threat imposed by the films in terms of their ultimate treatment of white photographs, but instead, the threatened group can only be identified by the fact that they seem to rate Negro photographs morenegatively and by the fact that accompanying this they treat the white photos in some significantly different fashion than the non-threatened group. One might therefore have to identify the prevalent defensive mechanisms preferred by the individuals involved in order to predict in advance how they would respond in their ratings of anonymous white photographs following prestige or status threat or an experience that creates cognitive dissonance.

One thing that should also be noted in the results is the fact that in each school the Negro photographs are initially rated more positively than the white. The most parsimonious explanation for this may be that the students might have been aware of the fact that their ratings of photos were giving some estimation of their attitudes towards Negroes and they weren't going to be caught damning Negroes too openly. It is interesting to note, in view of this possibility, that School S was not willing to "give" as much in this respect when compared with the students at Schools F and W. Students at S rated the Negro and white photos fairly evenly. At Schools F and W, however, the Negro photos seem to be rated much more positively than the white photos. Do the more comparable Negro-white ratings at School S indicate a more negative attitude towards Negroes at this all white school? Another explanation could simply be that white students in integrated schools are more sensitive about revealing negative attitudes about Negroes and hence they give inflated positive initial ratings to Negro photos as a sort of over-compensatory cover-up. This is given some support in view of the fact that they also rate the white photos much more negatively than the students at School S while, at the same time, rating the Negro photos more positively. Surely we couldn't interpret this as meaning that white students in integrated schools have more negative feelings towards whites? Thus the explanation of a sort of over-compensatory cover-up of feelings seems to best explain the data.

This, of course, should not have any bearing upon the interpretatio of results already reported since this analysis dealt with change scores from pre- to post-testing among experimentals versus controls. It also does not invalidate the investigator's hypothesis concerning the fact that the students did not realize the true purpose of the experiment since the main concern was that the experimental group did not connect the film experience with the testing. If there was some realization that a highly negative evaluation of a Negro photo might give some hint of the rater's racial attitudes, this took place for both experimentals and controls and hence should have no bearing on the differences found between these two groups.

Another question which arises is why the higher socio-economic students at an all white school and the lower socio-economic students in integrated schools were those most threatened or adversely affected by films of successful Negroes. Why weren't the middle class whites at School F and W equally threatened by the films? Why weren't the lower class students at School S responding like their counterparts at Schools F and W?

It seems a fairly safe assumption to make that the middle class white student whose parents have moved to the suburbs (perhaps even to escape from Negroes) may be quite different from the inner-city middle class family which has chosen, for one reason or another, to stay. The stereotype of the middle class suburbanite, struggling to "keep up with the Joneses", concerned over status symbols ofwealth and possessions, heavily mortgaged and intensely ambitious to improve his lot even further has been highly documented over the years (Dobriner, 1958; Wood, 1959). Thus we would expect him to be more insecure about his position and more threatened by the prospect of highly successful Negroes who are, incidently, the only ones who might be in a position to move into his neighborhood.

For this reaoon the impact of belief congruence stemming from the films of successful Negroes may have had a better chance of making itself felt on the inner-city middle class student than on his more upwardly mobile, status and prestige conscious, suburban counterpart.

Why then are the lower class students affected so negatively in the integrated schools while this does not appear to be the case in suburbia. The argument has already been presented regarding the fact that the lower class suburbanite may have felt less threat to his prestige because of the remoteness of these Negro professionals to his own status. As Bettleheim and Janowitz (1950) conclude "....the group which is directly threatened in its economic (job) security is likely to be more intolerant of the groups with which it feels in competition. (page 256). In line with this Hyman (1953) points out that the middle class values prestige in the same way as the lower class values security, particularly economic security, since the former do not need to worry as much about their ability to fulfill the basics necessary for sheer subtenance, while the latter must continually face the prospect of sudden lay-offs, loss of jobs, etc. It was for this reason that the investigator hypothesized that films of skilled technicians might have resulted in an increase in prejudice among the lower class suburbanite.

Another factor which must be considered in discussing the reaction of the lower class, however, is that students, in an integrated school, may develop the need to be better than the Negro - i.e. the Negro comes to play an important role in terms of the status needs of these students similar to the "red-neck" phenomenon of the lower class southern white who feels that he can at least point to someone in his immediate vicinity towards whom he can feel superior. Neugarten (1940) and Allport (1954) have both commented on the need among lower classes to be better than someone else. Again, Bettleheim and Janowitz (1950) point out this aspect most clearly in their comment that the fight for self-respect is often found among the prejudiced - the fight to be somebody and to avoid being a nobody. Thus, in an integrated setting a pecking order may be established with the Negroes on the bottom so that the lower class whites, who are only one step further up this ladder, may be most threatened by the prospect of successful Negroes who might disturb this hierarchy. If this is true, then one would hypothesize tha films of either Negro professionals or Negro technicians would have tended to increase prejudice or negative feelings towards Negroes among white lower socio-economic students in an integrated school setting.

In many ways this entire discussion harks back to an observation made earlier in the discussion of the S.S.Q. results - namely, that prejudice may arise quickly in terms of some highly personal or situational stress. Thus, to truly understand an increase in negative attitudes towards some target group one must look to the immediate threat that this group is creating for the prejudiced. The threat may be in terms of job security, economic status, prestige or any other important goals that people strive for in our society. As Bettleheim and Janowitz (1950) observed in the prejudiced reactions of veterans towards Jews and Negroes, although many of the prejudiced wanted to see Jews deported from the country, almost none wanted to see the Negroes deported. Instead they only wished to see that Negroes were "kept in their place". As these authors concluded, the Negro has come to serve an important function in our society (as he may have come to serve in some of the integrated schools for lower socio-economic whites). If the Negro were to leave it would be left to the white man to perform those lowly tasks which are now assigned to Negroes. Thus we may prefer to maintain our stereotype image of the Negro slum dweller and there may be great resistance among many of us to any perception of the Negro as someone who is capable of doing more than menial labor and those jobs which he performed for so many years in a slave society.

3. Photograph Technique for White Elementary Subjects.

Subjects: 30 fifth and sixth grade students from three integrated schools (with Negro ratios of 50% or more) composed of 20 experimentals and 10 controls, and 60 fifth and sixth grade students from an all white elementary, suburban school composed of 40 experimentals and 20 controls

Instrument.

Five photographs of anonymous males (three white and two Negro) identical to those used at other schools. These were evaluated using th same traits used by elementary Negro students. Rating was done on a four point scale for each of the following: stupid; lazy; dirty; bad; feels as good as anybody else; sure of self. Analysis was made of the change from pre- to post-testing for each student for white and Negro photos.

Results for Elementary White Students

Table XIV reveals an overall statistically significant Film Effect

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[1] It was necessary to discard a number of controls from each school because of a lack of higher socio-economic controls at the integrated schools and a lack of lower socio-economic controls at the suburban school. Since father's occupation was not found to be a significant factor in terms of personality trait assignment, following films, (F for Film Effect - Father's Occupation = 1.14), as it had been among junior high students, a reanalysis using all students was done. This enlarged the elementary integrated sample to 16 experimentals and 16 controls and increased the suburban sample to 53 experimentals and 53 controls. The complete analysis of variance for this is also in the appendix. However, the results were almost identical to the above analysis. The Film Effect F ratio changed from 6.10 to 6.58. The school - Film - Race of Photo interaction changed from 4.18 to 2.95 (which was now insignificant). Thus, by adding more controls to the al white suburban school sample, it became more similar to the integrated white sample.

Table XIV

Analysis of Personality Trait Assignments to White and Negro Photographs by Elementary White Students in Integrated Schools and by Elementary Suburban White Students[1]

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Subjects	89		
School (integrated versus suburban)	1	14.831	4.46*
Film Effect	1	20.289	6.10*
Father's Occupation	1	0.002	0
School Film	1	5.513	1.66
School - Father's Occup.	1	11.667	3.51
Film - Father's Occupation	1	3.787	1.14
School - Film - Occupation	1	0.534	0.16
Error	82	3.328	
Race of Photograph	1	0.501	0.23
School - Race	1	4.106	1.95
School - Film - Race	1	8.798	4.18*
School - Film - Race - Occup.	1	0.600	0.29
Error		2.107	

Breakdown of School - Film - Race of Photo Interaction

	df	MS	F ratios
Films - White Photos - Integrated Sch.	1	.779	0.34
Films - White Photos - Suburban School	1	27.113	9.98**

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* significant at the .05 level
** significant at the .01 level

[1] The entire analysis of variance can be found in the appendix.

(F=6.10, significant at the .05 level) in terms of trait assignment to photographs. Unlike the junior high school whites, however, there was no significant interaction with father's occupation (F=1.14). Thus socio-economic level did not appear to be an important factor in determing either the direction or kind of trait assignment made to photos.

A significant School - Film Effect - Race of Photograph (F=4.18, significant at the .05 level) seems to indicate that one of the schools (i.e. either the suburban or the integrated) was differing in terms of trait assignments to either white or Negro photographs, following the films. A breakdown of this interaction revealed that the all white, suburban school had its greatest shift, following films, in terms of trait assignments to white photographs (F=9.98, significant at the .01 level). As Table XV indicates, both schools also shift positively in their treatment of Negro photographs. However, it was only at the suburban school that this was accompanied by an ever greater positive shift in rating white photos.

The significant School interaction in Table IV (F=4.46, significant at the .05 level) dropped to an F of 2.18 when more controls were added to both the suburban and integrated groups (See footnote on page 67). It is apparently due, primarily, to more positive assignment to white and Negro photos at the suburban and more negative assignment to white and Negro photos at the integrated schools.

Table XV

Pre- and Post-Test Means for Personality Trait Assignments Made to White and Negro Photographs by White Elementary Students and Integrated and Suburban Schools

	Pre-White Means	Post-White Means	Pre-Negro Means	Post-Negro Means	N
Experimental Integrated	1.86	1.99	2.02	1.97	20
Control Integrated	1.79	1.84	1.84	2.03	10
Experimental Suburban	2.01	1.78	2.19	2.12	40
Control Suburban	1.76	1.86	2.04	2.10	20

When the additional data was added to the results these means shifted more towards one another. It should also be noted that this result is not involved in the film effect since the School - Film Effect interaction was minimal (F=1.66).

Discussion of Results

Perhaps one of the most interesting features to appear in this analysis is the fact that father's occupational level does not seem to be an important factor in determining response to photos, following the film series. Apparently the films had an overall positive impact on white elementary students regardless of their socio-economic level.

This suggests that younger students, as would probably be predicted, are not as prestige or status conscious as their junior high school counterparts, and the implication is also present that the films have their greatest benefit at the elementary levels.

The apparently large positive shift that takes place towards white photos among suburban experimentals is difficult to interpret, especially since it does tend to disappear somewhat when the sample is increased (see footnote on page 67). Perhaps it could be interpreted as a need to reassert feelings of white superiority in spite of increased positive feelings towards Negroes - i.e. a sort of "You're better than I thoughtyou were, but you're still not as good as we are." That this did not take place among the integrated elementary students may indicate that the latter are less defensive about Negroes because of their greater association with them. If the assumptions made earlier, regarding lower socio-economic whites in integrated junior high schools, are valid, the suggestion is also contained, in present results, that Negroes do not come to play an important role in the self-esteem of lower socio-economic students until some later grade level. This is also apparently true of the suburban whites, or at least the present data would suggest this.

Perhaps one observation which was made during the film showings might be of relevance in terms of this discussion. It was reported by assistants who ran the films at various grade levels that although students in the elementary grades discussed race, the topic was never raised at the junior high school level. Thus, for example, 5th and 6th grade students, particularly Negro students, would ask whether the film that day was about a white person or a Negro. In some cases inquiries were made regarding the race of a model's wife - i.e. whether she was white or Negro. However, at the junior high level no student, white or Negro, even acknowledged having seen a movie about Negroes. In one case where there was some question about the race of one model's wife, there was whispering about this in one classroom in an integrated junior high school. However, after the film, when the assistant commented on the whispering and asked whether there were some questions, no one would comment. It was almost as if race, in integrated junior high schools, was a taboo subject. This suggests that in the lower elementary grades there is apparently much less trauma and much less threat attached to race, perhaps on the part of both whites and Negroes since both feel free to mention it. However, at some more advanced age or grade level this threat and trauma increases for both races, in integrated settings.

One explanation which has been offered concerning this is that it may be connected with dating behavior. Thus, while children play together without much concern about race, in their playgrounds or around their homes, following the onset of puberty and dating, race lines become more noticeable and rigid. Certain classes of boys and girls are now "off-limits" because of their race and the issues becomes more prominent, embarrassing, and affect laden. It is also, perhaps, especially at this point, that the Negro begins to really fell himself falling into his "inferior" role, both in his own eyes as well as in the eyes of his white companions.

One, of course, can do little more than speculate at this moment on the meaning of these results. One thing, however, that is strongly suggested is that socio-economic level and threat do seem to become a potent force at the junior high level and that if this kind of film technique is to have maximum success in modifying attitudes towards Negroes in a positive direction, it should probably be used with white elementary grade school students.

4. The Non-Pretested Sample

As mentioned in an earlier part of the paper, Edling (1963) has claimed that pre-testing, in the affective sphere, depresses post-test scores. The evidence he used to support this conclusion was based on an experimental procedure in which post-testing took place only a few days following pre-testing. He argued that this was a sufficiently long period of time because the normal forgetting curve for meaningful material shows its greatest drop during the first 48 hours. This, of course, assumed that the attitudes he was measuring had just been learned, by the students, to some predetermined criterio of correct performance, i.e. attitude response strength was identical to that of a newly learned piece of poetry. In the present investigation there was a period of between five and six months between pre- and post-testing and there was no evidence of any post-test depression of scores among the pretested sample. Edling's results are, therefore felt to be an artifact due to the very short period between pre- and post-testing.

Table XVI gives a comparison between the mean post-test scores of pre- and non-pretested white and Negro elementary and junior high school students at various schools in terms of personality trait assignment to Negro and white photographs. As can be seen, simply through inspection, there is no consistent pattern which suggests any depression of pretested scores. Not only do the non-pretested means fall either above or below the post-test means of the pretested group in a random fashion, but even if we assume that the direction of movement should vary according to how the pretested students changed, there is still no consistent pattern to be found in the non-pretested scores.

Table XVII shows the comparisons of total mean scores for all photographs between pre- and non-pretested experimentals and controls. Almost every F ratio approaches zero. One significant F ratio does appear, however, in the comparison of low occupation experimentals from School S. Here non-pretested experimentals did have a significantly higher post-test score for all photographs (F=7.14, significant at the .05 level). However, this result does not make too much sense since it is in the opposite direction to that which would have been predicted from the direction of change which took place among pretested experimentals. Low occupation experimentals, at School S, tended to change in a more positive direction towards photographs following the films (which also agreed with the results of the S.S.Q.).

Table XVI

Comparison of Post-Test Mean Scores for Pre- and Non-Pretested Students in Terms of Personality Trait Assignments to White and Negro Photos[1]

	Pre-Tested White Photo	Non-Pretest White Photo	Pre-Tested Negro Photo	Non-Pretest Negro Photo
Experimental Elementary Negroes	1.99 (N=40)	1.99 (N=25)	1.76 (N=40)	1.64 (N=25)
Controls	1.90 (N=26)	2.02 (N=17)	1.91 (N=26)	1.80 (N=17)
Junior High Whites				
Experimental High Occ. School S	2.73 (N=34)	2.67 (N=25)	2.65 (N=34)	2.66 (N=25)
Control High Occup.	2.76 (N=34)	2.78 (N=30)	2.65 (N=34)	2.59 (N=30)
Experimental Low Occ. School S	2.70 (N=34)	2.92 (N=15)	2.67 (N=34)	2.90 (N=15)
Control Low Occup.	2.68 (N=34)	2.70 (N=15)	2.73 (N=34)	2.66 (N=15)
Experimental High Occ. School W	2.83 (N=19)	2.82 (N=21)	2.53 (N=19)	2.65 (N=21)
Control High Occup.	2.69 (N=19)	2.80 (N=24)	2.35 (N=19)	2.50 (N=24)
Experimental Low Occ. School W	2.76 (N=19)	2.85 (N=34)	2.78 (N=19)	2.74 (N=34)
Control Low Occup.	2.97 (N=19)	2.79 (N=20)	2.70 (N=19)	2.64 (N=20)
Elementary Whites				
Experimentals Elem. Whites(Integ.)	1.99 (N=20)	1.90 (N=11)	1.97 (N=20)	1.89 (N=11)
Controls	1.84 (N=10)	2.00 (N=19)	2.03 (N=10)	1.80 (N=19)
Experimentals Suburban Elementary	1.78 (N=40)	1.99 (N=36)	2.12 (N=40)	2.00 (N=36)
Controls	No Non-Pretested Controls available			

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[1] There were insufficient non-pretested junior high Negro and white students at School F to do any comparisons.

Table XVII

Post-test Scores for Personality Trait Assignments to Negro and White Photographs - Pretested versus Non-Pretested Students

Source	df	MS	F ratios	Pretest Means	Non-Pret Mean
School S High White Exper.	1	110.50	.09	2.70	2.67
Error	57	1186.40			
School S High White Controls	1	26.13	.02	2.72	2.70
Error	62	1198.37			
School S Low White Exper.	1	5256.28	7.14*	2.69	2.91
Error	47	736.10			
School S Low White Controls	1	23.54	.02	2.70	2.68
Error	47	1049.72			
School W High White Exper.	1	185.79	.17	2.71	2.75
Error	38				
School W High White Controls	1	155.99	.13	2.56	2.68
Error	41	1241.39			
School W Low White Exper.	1	185.92	.22	2.77	2.81
Error	51	853.12			
School W Low White Controls	1	1584.60	1.73	2.86	2.73
Error	37	917.27			
Integ. Elemen. White Exper.	1	31.30	.16	2.00	1.90
Error	15	193.58			
Integ. Elemen. White Controls	1	117.60	1.48	1.75	1.94
Error	18	79.31			
Suburban Elem. White Exper.	1	136.90	1.55	1.88	2.00
Error	45	88.31			
Suburban Elem. White Controls	1	16.11	.18	1.95	2.00
Error	27	87.55			
Elementary Negro Exper.	1	78.23	.49	1.92	1.85
Error	63	159.83			
Elementary Negro Controls	1	62.48	.45	1.84	1.93
Error	30	139.15			

* significant at the .05 level

Therefore, it is difficult to explain the significantly higher or more negative,post-test scores of the non-pretested low occupational experimentals on the basis of their lack of pretest "drag" (Edling presumed that pretesting was a depressant or drag which inhibited movement or change). Theoretically, the non-pretested low experimentals should have been moving in the opposite direction, i.e. they should have been significantly lower in post-test scores.

The differences between pre- and non-pretested students on the S.S.Q. was also extremely small. An F ratio computed for the difference in total score was .07 and the mean change score of the pretested experimentals was 354.35 while that of the non-pretested students 355.31 (these scores have been equated by multiplying total Negro score by eight and total foreigner score by seven since there were seven Negro items and eight foreigner items in the original scale).

Thus there was no evidence in the present data of any pretest effect on post-test scores. In many ways, however, having a non-pretested sample in the present study likely had some advantages. It probably helped to disguise the purpose of the experiment since students do talk to one another and they must have been aware that many persons seeing films had not been tested. Thus even though some students may have been trying to "outguess" the examiner in terms of their perception of the pre- and post-tests, the most important issue which was at stake, namely, that they draw no connections between testing and film experience, may have been safeguarded by the inclusion of non-pretested experimentals and controls.

Part C Eastern City

Introduction

A few words of explanation should be offered before the results of data obtained in a large eastern, metropolitan area are presented. First, the Negro population of this city might have been expected to differ from that of the small midwestern city where the previously reported data was collected. There were, for example, very few professional Negroes living in this latter city, and one might wonder whether these youth, as a result, had even less opportunity to develop pride in the accomplishments of their race. Admittedly, this city contained some Negro teachers and social workers, but there were not the large professional groups of lawyers, physicians, dentists, college professors, and others which one expects to find in a more metropolitan area. Of course, lower class Negroes, in a large metropolis might still have little knowledge of successful Negroes living in their city because of social class separation. Although class segregation is not as prevalent among Negroes as among whites, because of the more limited housing available to the former, social class separation is still present and is even on the increase among Negroes (Uyeki, 1964). Malcolm X observed in his autobiography (Little, 1965), that he was astonished, following his move from Lansing, Michigan, to Boston, by the numbers of Negroes who had important positions. In Lansing, during his adolescence, the ultimate position to which a Negro aspired was to become a waiter in the local country club. In Boston, however, he was confronted by Negroes in professional life who appeared to take their success for granted. Perhaps, however, the experience of Malcolm X is not completely typical since he made many of his contacts in Boston through a rather influential aunt. Claude Brown (1965), in contrast, observed that Harlem Negro youth rarely left their own neighborhoods and most had never seen the center of Manhattan, which was considered to be white territory. At any rate, the possibility existed that the midwestern city Negroes might differ in terms of their previous exposure to successful Negroes from their eastern city counterparts, and the investigator was not sure whether replication was possible with this new sample.

The school from which the present sample was drawn also differed in size from the midwestern one. It was a much larger urban high school with grades from IX to XII rather than being simply a junior high school with grades VIII and IX. Its student body was four times the size of the midwestern school although the Negro ratio was approximately similar (between 50 and 60%). The Negroes were also more heterogenous in that some were of middle class socio-economic status while the midwestern Negroes were, almost without exception, from the lower classes.

Another aspect which must be considered were the changes in procedure which were necessary. It was not possible, for example, to pretest (or post-test) this new group of subjects in small classroom groups. Instead, testing was done with groups of over 100 subjects of mixed race. In addition, instead of showing the films to the students in their classrooms, film presentation was also done in a large auditorium with all experimentals gathered together. Unfortunately, acoustics were not always adequate, in the opinion of the projectionist, and there was some concern that all students were not always able to properly hear the dialogue.

Finally, post-testing was done under rather unfortunate conditions. There was considerable noise competing for the attention of the students during post-test instructions and the time to complete the tests was not adequate for all students. This factor, in addition to a snow storm which took place at post-testing, wiped out a good number of both experimentals and controls, which resulted in a large depletion of the originally anticipated sample of students. Thus, the hope to try and replicate previous findings with a very large and more heterogenous Negro population was not realized. However, in spite of all the factor mentioned, there was considerable similarity between the results obtained from this new sample and those results already discussed. The major differences that did emerge occurred more among the whites and these will be presented later in this section.

Film Introduction and Presentation

Films were introduced using the same explanation as the previous study. However, film presentation was changed with respect to the order in which films were shown. As had been done before, the first two films shown were of whites and the last two films were of Negroes. The actual order of presentation was: federal judge; research chemist; sculptor; physician-pharmacologist; accountant; reporter; political scientist; TV executive; architect; clinical psychologist; merchandising executive, and systems engineer. As mentioned previously, all experimentals were groupedtogether for each weekly presentation rather than seeing the films in their individual classrooms.

Pre- and Post-testing

Pre- and post-test instructions were identical to those used previously. Pre-testing was also done one month before the first film and post-testing one month following the last film. There was one change however. Because of the fact that junior high school Negroes had previously shown such different reactions to certain of the white and Negro photographs, which was felt to be possibly due to some kind of order effect, additional instructions were given regarding the fact that the order of the photographs differed in certain of the test booklets. These instructions for order effect are contained in the appendix.

Effect on Negroes

Because of the fact that the number of students varies from instrument to instrument (not every student completed every test), the results of each will be presented and discussed separately and subject sample will be described each time. In addition, the number of subjects may even vary slightly when a breakdown is made for grade level versus father's occupation since the computer automatically corrected in order to insure equal cell ratios for the analysis of variance. In such cases the numbers of subjects in various categories will be noted.

1. The Forced Choice Sentence Completion

This new addition to the test battery was a rather direct attempt to measure attitudes regarding self among Negroes (and status or prestige strivings among whites). A complete copy of the test is reproduced in the appendix. Those items which were scored for Negroes are designated that as "N" items. The student was offered three possible alternative responses to finish each incomplete statement and was required to choose the one response which most adequately expressed his feelings or attitudes about the subject in question. He then received a score of one through three, depending upon his choice, for each item that pertained to his group (N items, in the case of Negroes), and a total score for all items combined. An example of an N item is: I secretly: 1. Wish I were smarter 2. Am proud of myself 3. Wish I were someone else. A person who checked #2 received a score of one; a check placed for #1 received a score of two, and a check for #3 received a score of three. Since there were four N items this meant that total scores could vary from four through twelve. Analysis was then made of the change in total scores from pre- to post-testing.

Subjects: Sixty Negro students from Grades IX through XII (40 experimentals and 20 controls). With a breakdown in terms of father's occupation (occupations 1 through 5, versus 6 and 7 on the Warner, Meeker and Eells' scale) there were 30 lower socio-economic experimentals; 10 higher socio-economic experimentals; 15 lower socio-economic controls and 5 higher socio-economic controls. With a breakdown in terms of grade level there were 28 experimentals in Grades IX and X, and 14 experimentals in Grades XI and XII; 12 controls in Grades IX and X and 6 controls in Grades XI and XII.

Results of the Forced Choice Sentence Completion

Since there were some middle class Negroes available in this sample, as well as students from various grade levels, analyses were done to determine whether father's occupation or grade had any impact on test results following the films. Since the sample involved was small it was necessary to examine these effects separately.

Table XVIII reveals that there were no differences between experimentals and controls whether father's occupation was considered or ignored. Neither did grade level appear to be an important factor and the F of 1.62 between films and grade is non-significant. An examination of the means for pre- and post-testing in Table XIX does reveal a mild trend for Grade IX and X students to improve in self-concept, following films, and Grades XI and XII to become more negative, but this result was not statistically significant.

Table XVIII

Analysis of Forced Choice Sentence Completion Scores for Negro Students With Father's Occupation Considered

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Subjects	59		
Film Effect	1	0.00	0
Father's Occupation	1	.56	.04
Films and Father's Occupation	1	14.38	1.10
Error	56	13.13	

Table XIX

Analysis of Forced Choice Sentence Completion Scores for Negro Students With Grade Level Considered

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Subjects	59		
Grade Level	1	.15	.01
Films and Grade	1	23.14	1.62
Error	56	14.31	

Table XX

Pre- and Post-Test Means for Forced Choice Sentence Completion for Grades IX and X Compared with Grades XI and XII

	Grades IX and X		Grades XI and XII	
	Experimentals Means	Controls Means	Experimentals Means	Controls Means
Pretest	1.60	1.51	1.25	1.79
Post-test	1.56	1.72	1.53	1.63

Discussion of Results

The results of the Forced Choice Sentence Completion are disappointing and, of course, the existence of mere trends cannot be given much weight. Since the sample was small and total score could vary only from four through twelve, this may have played some role in the lack of statistical significance. There did seem to be a great deal of variability in scores, judging from the rather large error term, and, of course, when there are only a few individuals in some cells (for example, six controls among the eleventh and twelfth graders), one deviant individual can create a great problem. One can, therefore, only state that this technique did not prove to be of great value and perhaps the addition of more items would help to improve the stability of scores.

2. Goals versus Predictions

As may be remembered, Goals represents the average of a student's first two responses (scored on the North-Hatt scale of occupational prestige) to the statement: What would you most like to become in the future? Predictions represents his first two responses (similarily scored and averaged) to the statement: What do you think you'll actually end up doing? Analysis was made in terms of changes from pre- to post-testing for Goals and Predictions. Subjects: 48 Negroes from Grades IX through XII (32 experimentals and 16 controls). With a breakdown into father's occupational level there were 24 low occupation experimentals and 8 high occupation experimentals; 12 low occupation controls and 4 high occupation controls. With a breakdown in terms of grade level there were 21 Grade IX and X experimentals and 7 Grade XI and XII experimentals; 15 Grade IX and X controls and 5 Grade XI and XII controls.

Results of Goals Versus Predictions

Table XXI indicates that there were no differences between experimentals and controls whether father's occupation was considered or ignored. However, when grade level (again comparing Grades IX and X with Grades XI and XII) was introduced an interaction appeared between Film Effect and Grade Level which just missed the required level for statistical significance (F=3.78, significant between the .05 and .10 levels). A breakdown of this revealed that Grades IX and X seem to be moving in a direction opposite to Grades XI and XII although neither of the obtained F ratios are statistically significant.

Table XXI

Analysis of North-Hatt Scale Choices for Goals Versus Predictions by Negro Students With Father's Occupation Considered

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Subjects	47		
Film Effect	1	136.69	1.16
Father's Occupation	1	19.54	0.17
Films - Father's Occupation	1	175.55	1.49
Error	44	117.82	
Goals versus Predictuon	1	0.51	0.01
Occup. - Goals vs. Pred.	1	102.08	1.24
Films - Goals vs. Pred.	1	1.25	0.02
Films - Occup. - Goals vs. Predictions	1	5.46	0.07
Error	44	82.23	

Table XXII

Analysis of North-Hatt Scale Choices for Goals Versus Predictions by Negro Students With Grade Level Considered

Source	df	MS	F ratios	
Subjects	47			
Grade Level	1	12.50	0.18	
Films - Grade Level	1	260.39	3.78	
Error	44	68.91		
Grade Level & Goals vs. Pred.	1	0.68	0.01	
Films - Grade - Goals vs. Prediction	1	0.84	0.01	
Error	44	56.38		
Films & Grades IX and X	1	142.86	2.07	Exp. lower goals & pred. more than con.
Films & Grades XI and XII	1	137.62	1.98	Exp. raise goals & pred. more than con

Discussion of Results

The trend in these results in which Grades IX and X seem to be moving in an opposite direction to Grades XI and XII is similar to those just reported for the sentence completion. However, it is difficult to interpret these findings without looking at the pre- and post-test means and comparing these to the junior high school Negroes in the midwestern city. One of the first things which strikes the eye in Table XXIII is the fact that although Goals were fairly comparable in both samples, there are some strange deviances among Predictions. For example, instructions for this test are geared so that Goals should be considerably higher than predictions. Thus the student is encourgaged to choose any occupation he wishes on the Goal section, but he is cautioned to be realistic on the Prediction section. As will be noted, in the midwestern sample, this was the trend. However, in eastern city

Table XXIII

Pre- and Post-Test Means on Goals and Predictions for Grades IX and X, Grades XI and XII and Junior High Midwestern Negroes

		Gradex IX and X		Grades XI & XII		Midwestern	
		Experimentals	Controls	Exper..	Controls	Exper.	Controls
Goals	Pre-	73.90	70.08	73.43	76.20	73.38	72.60
	Post	72.38	70.68	75.57	73.20	72.10	73.00
Predict.	Pre-	68.57	67.94	68.43	71.40	64.59	69.05
	Post	67.71	70.68	72.00	70.40	64.52	65.15

Predictions are not only higher than they were in the midwestern sample, but in the case of Grade IX and X controls they actually reach the same level as Goals on post-testing. This is not a case of Goals dropping and becoming more realistic but instead both goals and predictions rise to even higher and more unrealistic levels.

Perhaps the most parsimonious explanation is that these students simply are not taking the task seriously, since there should be some greater disparity between Goals versus Predictions. Indeed, it is only the Grade IX and X students who seem to be dropping down to what would be considered a more realistic level. Their controls are moving to the almost impossible position of having no disparity between a requested unrealistic wish and a requested realistic aspiration. The same is almost true of both the Grade XI and XII experimentals and controls. Thus it seems impossible to interpret these data in the same way as the midwestern data. One certainly cannot say that the rise in both Goals and Predictions among Grade XI and XII experimentals is a positive thing since the changes seem so unrealistically high and predictions become too comparable to goals. If any set of results are similar to the midwestern city it is those found among Grade IX and X experimentals. Whether this means that they were the group most positively affected by the films is difficult to state and one can only conclude that these results must be considered equivocal.

3. Photograph Technique.

The same five photographs of anonymous males (three whites and two Negroes) used previously were judged as to their probably occupations and personalities. Traits, rated on a five point scale, were identical to those used in the midwestern city, and could be arranged into Negro negative and positive stereotypes and negative and positive non-stereotypes. However, one added change in procedure was made. Because of the fact that the more negative response to Photograph #1 (white) and the more positive response to Photograph #3 (Negro) found among midwestern Negro junior high students was felt to be possibly due to an order effect, the order of photographs in some booklets was changed. Thus some students rated the photographs in a #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, order similar to the midwest sample. Others, however, rated the photographs in a #2, 1, 5, 4, 3 order. Thus for some students the youngest white male (photo #1) was rated first, while for others he was rated second. The same was true for the youngest Negro male (photo #3) who was the first Negro seen and rated by some students and the second Negro seen and rated by others.

This change in the order of presentation was made during both pre- and post-testing so that photographs # 1 and #3 could both, conceivably, be seen in four different positions - i.e. in a first - first; a second-first; a first - second; and a second - second position for pre- and post-testing combined. If an order effect, rather than the age of the pictured person, or some other variable, was responsible for the previously reported results, it would probably involve attitudes or feelings being attributed to the first person seen (either white or Negro). If this were true then one could expect to find a significant difference between the first - first and second - first order of presentation when these were compared with the first - second and second - second photograph orders.

Subjects: 60 Negro students of varying socio-economic status and grade levels composed of 40 experimentals and 20 controls. When a division was made in terms of father's occupation there were 30 lower and 10 higher socio-economic experimentals, and 15 lower and 5 higher socio-economic controls. When students were divided according to grade level there were 28 experimentals and 12 controls in grades IX and X and 14 experimentals and 6 controls in grades XI and XII.

Results of Photograph Technique

Table XXIV reveals the results obtained when trait assignments to photographs were analyzed with father's occupational level considered. (Although an analysis was also made in terms of grade level no significant differences, or even strong trends, were found and these results are reproduced only in the appendix.) Even though no significant film effect interactions were found, because of the fact that race of photograph had played such an important role in previous analyses, a breakdown of the Film Effect - Race of Photograph interaction was made, with the effects of father's occupational level considered and ignored. In addition, Film Effect - Individual Photograph was also analyzed because of the differential stimulus impact that various photographs seemed to have had on the experimental Negroes in the midwest sample.

Table XXIV

Analysis of Variance for Trait Assignments to Negro and White Photographs by Negro Students With Father's Occupation Considered

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Film Effect	1	35.53	0.91
Father's Occupation	1	54.51	1.39
Films - Father's Occupation	1	38.14	0.98
Error	57	39.20	
Personality Trait	3	190.26	10.69**
Film - Trait	3	7.65	0.43
Occupation - Trait	3	10.70	0.60
Film - Occupation - Trait	171	12.98	0.73
Error		17.78	
Race of Photo	1	6.24	0.33
Films - Race	1	50.29	2.63
Occupation - Race	1	40.57	2.12
Films - Occupation - Race	1	43.39	2.27
Error	57	19.14	
Individual Photograph	3	10.05	0.41
Films - Photo	3	42.11	1.69
Occupation - Photo	3	30.32	1.22
Films - Occupation - Photo	3	26.03	1.04
Error	171	24.88	
Personality Trait - Race	3	26.70	2.39
Films - Trait - Race	3	2.58	0.23
Occupation - Trait - Race	3	43.76	3.92*
Films - Occupation - Trait-Race	3	2.02	0.18
Error	171	11.17	
Trait - Photo	9	24.56	2.59**
Films - Trait - Photo	9	8.98	0.95
Occupation - Trait - Photo	9	6.73	0.71
Films - Occupation - Trait Photo	9	3.19	0.34
Error	513	9.49	

** significant at the .01 level

* significant at the .05 level

The first unusual thing that appeared in Table XXV was the fact that Film Effect seemed to interact almost entirely with trait assignments to Negro, as opposed to white, photographs so that the F ratio for Film Effect and White Photos was 0.0, while the Film Effect and Negro Photos interaction was 2.94, significant between the .05 and .10 levels. A breakdown in terms of father's occupation also revealed that it was the lower socio-economic Negroes who differed most in their treatment of Negro photos following the films, with experimentals rating these photos more positively than their controls (F=5.34, significant at the .05 level). Higher socio-economic Negroes, on the other hand, actually tended to move in the opposite direction to this as can be seen from the means presented in Table XXVI.

When the Film Effect - Individual Photograph interaction was broken down in Table XXV, no significant differences occurred between experimentals and controls on any single photograph. As will be remembered, in the midwestern sample, Negroes became significantly more negative towards Photo #1, who was the youngest and first white man encountered, significantly more positive towards Photo #3, the first and youngest Negro, and significantly more positive towards Photo #4, who was felt to possibly resemble President Johnson. Essentially, the findings in Table XXV are in the same direction but fail to reach the required level for statistical significance. Thus experimentals are found to be more negative, than their controls, towards Photos #1, and #2, more positive towards #4, and more positive towards #3 and #5 (both Negroes), and especially towards Photo #3.

Table XXV

Breakdown of the Film Effect - Race of Photograph Interaction Film Effect - Occupation of Father - Race of Photograph Interaction, and the Film Effect - Individual Photograph Interaction

Source	df	MS	F ratios	Direction of Change
Films and White Photos	1	0.02	0.00	
Films and Negro Photos	1	85.80	2.94	Experimentals more positive than controls
Films - Occupation - White Photos	1	0.38	0.01	
Films - Occupation - Negro Photos	1	79.67	2.73	Low Occupation more positive than high occup.
Films - High Occupation and Negro Photos	1	9.60	0.33	Experimentals less positive than controls
Films - Low Occupation and Negro Photos	1	155.87	5.34*	Experimentals more positive than controls
Error	114	29.17		
Films and Photo #1	1	0.25	0.96	Experimentals more negative than controls
Films and Photo #2	1	56.72	1.99	Experimentals more negative than controls
Films and Photo #4	1	68.25	2.48	Experimentals more positive than controls
Films and Photo #3	1	53.33	1.87	Experimentals more positive than controls
Films and Photo #5	1	33.60	1.18	Experimentals more positive than controls
Error	228	28.47		

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* significant at the .05 level

Table XXVI

Pre- and Post-Test Means for Trait Assignments to Negro and White Photographs by Lower and Higher Socio-economic Negro Students

Higher Socio-Economic	Experimentals		Controls	
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test
	Means per Photo		Means per Photo	
White Photos	2.58	2.73	2.56	2.69
Negro Photos	2.51	2.53	2.50	2.40

Lower Socio-Economic	Experimentals		Controls	
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test
	Means per Photo		Means per Photo	
White Photos	2.67	2.64	2.73	2.71
Negro Photos	2.48	2.38	2.43	2.51

An analysis was also done to test for any possible order effect in terms of photograph presentation. The F ratio obtained when trait assignments to Photo #1 versus Photo #2 were compared, depending upon whether #1 was seen in a first position (with #2 second) versus #2 being seen in a first position (with #1 second), was 0.00. Thus, there was not even a slight trend which suggested that the order of viewing Photograph #1 had any effect on whether it would be rated more negatively or less negatively by Negro experimentals.

One large interaction which also appeared in the trait analysis involved the kind of personality trait assignments which were being made by all students, regardless of whether they were experimentals or controls (Personality Trait, F=10.69, significant at the .01 level).

This special use of traits also seemed to vary in terms of certain photographs (Individual Photo - Trait interaction, F=2.59, significant at the .05 level) and in terms of certain socio-economiv levels (Occupation - Trait - Race of Photo interaction, 3.92, significant at the .05 level). These same treait interactions, one can note in the appendix, were also present in all of the trait assignments made in the midwestern sample. What they indicate is a strong tendency on the part of all students to rate photographs in a positive direction on those traits which are positively worded and to rate negatively on those traits which are negatively directed. This shows that students tended to stay primarily on one side of the rating scale midpoint - namely on the "always" or "very" side of the scale so that they essentially tend to agree with the items.

The interaction between Trait - Individual Photograph revealed that this tendency was especially pronounced, on the part of these Negroes, towards Figure #3 (F=8.38, significant at the .01 level), Figure #5 (F=4.05, significant at the .01 level) and Figure #4 (F=9.39, significant at the .01 level). Thus the two Negro photos and Figure #4 (the Johnson effect?) were all rated more positively, primarily using traits of a positive nature.

Discussion of Results

The small sample of higher socio-economic Negroes (10 experimentals and 5 controls) allows little conclusions to be drawn from the fact that they show so little trend towards changing in trait assignment to photos following the films and indeed even move in the non-predicted direction. However, as in the midwestern sample, lower socio-economic Negroes do seem to rate Negro photos more positvely following the films. In spite of the fact that it was a statistical violation to break down an insignificant interaction, the fact that race of photo was so important in earlier analyses strengthens the justifications for this action. As mentioned, these Negroes did resemble their midwestern counterparts in their more positive evaluation of Negro photos following the films and a glance at the means in Table XXVI indicate that their controls have moved, over time, in an opposite direction.

Because of the fact that Individual Photo was also such an important element in the midwest study, a breakdown of this interaction was again felt to be justified. Although none of the F ratios reached the required level for statistical significance, the direction of change is very similar to that previously found. For example, experimentals tended to become more negative than their controls towards photographs #1 and #2. The experimental group also become more positive towards the two Negro photographs and tend somewhat to favor Photograph #3. In addition, of all the white photographs, only Photo #4 is evaluated more positively by experimentals than controls (F=2.48), and in spite of the fact that this was not statistically significant it does seem to indicate that Photo #4 was treated differently from all other white photographs. The possibility of the resemblance to President Johnson, as an explanation for this, is the only hypothesis that the investigator can offer.

The tendency for all students, whether experimentals or controls, to use the positive side or the agreement end brings to mind the various F scale studies on acquiescence. The fact that it shows up primarily on photographs #3, #4, and #5 is probably the result of the fact that these were the photos which were rated positively and apparently it is easier for a student to acquiese on a positive trait than on a negative trait, i.e. there is a stronger tendency to deviate towards the "always" end if one is saying something positive about the photograph in question. Since this tendency did not interact with the film effect, however, it has no real bearing on the interpretation of the results obtained for it operates in a similar fashion for both experimentals and controls and hence does not alter any of the discussion of results already made.

These results do not offer statistically significant support for the previous hypothesis offered, during the discussion of the midwestern results, that an increase in positive racial image among Negroes may be accompanied by an increase in hostile feelings towards whites. However, the results are in the same direction as previously, i.e. experimentals become more negative towards all white photographs, except Photo #4, but these differences were not statistically significant. Because of the fact that all midwestern Negroes were from the lower socio-economic classes, a separate analysis using all available lower class Negroes from the eastern city was attempted. This analysis is reproduced in the appendix. It proved to be identical to that found in the midwest sample, but again the differences did not prove to be statistically significant. The pre- and post-test means for individual photographs for all lower socio-economic Negroes are reproduced in Table XXVII and

Table XXVII

Pre- and Post-Test Means for Individual White and Negro Photographs in Terms of Trait Assignments by Lower Socio-Economic Negro Students

	Experimentals N=38		Controls N=15	
	Pre-Test Means	Post-Test Means	Pre-Test Means	Post-Test Means
Photograph #1	2.46	2.51	2.46	2.40
Photograph #2	2.73	2.65	3.10	2.96
Photograph #4	2.72	2.64	2.61	2.83
Photograph #3	2.59	2.44	2.45	2.54
Photograph #5	2.39	2.34	2.44	2.71

indicate a shift in a negative direction towards Photo #1 and #2, by experimentals, and a highly positive shift towards Photo #4 (this last difference had an F of 4.54, significant at the .05 level). Positive shifts also took place towards Photos #3 and #5, especially the former. Thus all trends are the same in both samples and the suggestion is still present that a release of hostility towards whites on the part of Negroes may accompany a more positive perception of their own race.

Summary

Negroes, particularly lower class Negroes, appear again to have been positively affected by the opportunity to view films of successful Negroes with whom they might identify and perhaps gain some sense of racial pride. There was some hint in the present data, although the samples available were too small to draw any definite conclusions, that while students in lower grade levels might develop more positive feelings about self, as a result of the films, students at the upper grade levels (Grades XI and XII) might tend to become more discouraged and hopeless. This admittedly was only a trend and numbers of upper grade Negroes were quite small. However, one might wonder whether the student who is closer to graduation and who may have had a longer history of unsuccessful school work might not become more discouraged when confronted by someone who has successfully overcome obstacles similar to those that he faces or has faced. It is interesting to note that there was no trend or suggestion on the Photograph technique that Grades XI and XII were negatively affected and their results here were identical to those obtained from the younger students. This test, however, seems to have more of a "we" aspect than an "I" aspect. Thus, both the Sentence Completion and Goals versus Predictions were concerned with personal, self-oriented materials. The photograph technique on the other hand, refers more to Negroes in general, and has less direct reference to self. Thus it is conceivably that a student might become more pessimistic about self and still become more optimistic or positive about his race.

It is difficult, of course, to do more than speculate from the present data and further investigation is necessary. As mentioned, the data again support some positive changes among Negro youth following the films. It may be, however, as mentioned, that the most positive impact, especially in terms of feelings about self, may occur among those youth who are younger and who still feel optimistic about their own chances for success. Older youth may, in contrast, simply become more discouraged when they are confronted by success in others who are not so different from themselves.

Effect on White Students

Since this eastern city school had a Negro population of slightly over 50 per cent, one would have expected the results among whites to parallel the results found at School F in the midwestern sample. As will be seen, however, this did not prove to be the case.

1. Photograph Technique: Photographs and procedure was identical to that described for the Negro sample since pre- and post-testing was done with mixed racial groups.

Subjects: 42 white students from Grades IX through XII (21 experimentals and 21 controls). With a breakdown in terms of father's occupational level there were 16 lower socio-economic experimentals and five higher socio-economic experimentals; 16 lower socio-economic controls and five higher socio-economic controls. With a breakdown in terms of grade level there were 13 experimentals in Grades IX and X and eight experimentals in Grades XI and XII; 13 controls in Grades IX and X and eight controls in Grades XI and XII.

Results of Photograph Technique for White Students

Table XXVIII presents the analysis of results with father's occupation considered as one variable. As will be remember, occupation of father proved to be an important variable in all the analyses of white students in the midwestern city. As Table XXVIII reveals, however, although there is a strong trend towards an overall film effect (F=3.22, significant between the .05 and .10 level) there was apparently no interaction with father's occupation (Film Effect -

Table XXVIII

Analysis of Variance of Personality Trait Assignments to White and Negrc Photographs by White Students With Father's Occupation Considered

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Film Effect	1	156.01	3.22
Father's Occupation	1	9.81	0.20
Films - Occupation	1	55.77	1.15
Error	38	48.41	
Personality Trait	3	102.87	9.41**
Films - Trait	3	4.60	0.42
Occupation - Trait	3	8.80	0.81
Films - Occupation - Trait	3	13.33	1.22
Error	114	10.93	
Race of Photo	1	15.34	0.45
Films - Race	1	122.57	3.61
Occupation - Race	1	2.43	0.07
Films - Occupation - Race	1	35.51	1.05
Error	38	33.97	
Individual Photograph	3	10.25	0.38
Films - Photograph	3	23.29	0.87
Occupation - Photo	3	33.45	1.26
Films - Occupation - Photo	3	34.80	1.31
Error	114	26.62	
Trait - Race of Photo	3	8.56	0.86
Films - Trait - Race	3	9.25	0.88
Occupation - Trait - Race	3	20.79	1.97
Films - Occupation - Trait - Race	3	2.47	0.23
Error	114	10.53	
Trait - Individual Photo	9	11.19	0.98
Film - Trait - Photo	9	9.86	0.86
Occupation - Trait - Photo	9	9.57	0.84
Film - Occupation - Trait - Photo	9	8.45	0.74
Error	342	11.44	

** significant at the .01 level

Father's Occupation, F=1.15). However, since there are actually only 5 experimentals and 5 controls among the high occupation group, a breakdown of the Film Effect - Father's Occupation interaction was done, (See Table XXIX). This revealed that there were, indeed, differences between higher and lower socio-economic experimentals and that although there was no film interaction with higher socio-economic status (F=.004 there was a statistically significant interaction between films and lower socio-economic status (F=4.37, significant at the .05 level). However, the effect is in the opposite direction to that found in the midwestern city. Here, instead, lower socio-economic students became more positive in their evaluation of photographs. In spite of the fact that the Film Effect - Race of Photograph just failed to meet the

Table XXIX

Breakdown of Film Effect - Father's Occupation and
Film Effect - Race of Photograph Interactions

Source	df	MS	F ratios	Direction of Chang
Films and High Occupation	1	0.18	0.00	Experimentals more negative than con.
Films and Low Occupation	1	211.60	4.37*	Experimentals more positive than con.
Error	38	48.81		
Films and White Photos	1	7.14	0.17	Experimentals more positive than con.
Films and Negro Photos	1	271.44	6.59*	Experimentals more positive than con.

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* significant at the .05 level

required level for statistical significance (F=3.61, significant between .05 and .10), a breakdown of this interaction again revealed that almost all of it came from one source. Thus the interaction between Film Effect and White Photographs approached zero (F=0.17) while the interaction with Negro photographs was statistically significant (F=6.59, significant at the .05 level). Thus lower socio-economic experimentals, as can be seen from the mean scores in Table XXX became significantly more positive, primarily in their ratings of Negro photographs, following the films.

Table XXX

Pre- and Post-Test Means of Trait Assignments to White and Negro Photographs by White Students With Father's Occupation Considered

	Experimentals		Controls	
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test
Higher Socio-Economic	Means per Photo		Means per Photo	
White Photographs	2.90	2.95	2.62	2.66
Negro Photographs	2.47	2.50	2.72	2.74
Lower Socio-Economic				
White Photographs	2.65	2.64	2.64	2.69
Negro Photographs	2.79	2.51	2.52	2.71

Also noted in the results was a Trait interaction (F=9.41, significant at the .01 level). This did not involve films, however. A breakdown of this reveals that, as with the Negro subjects, there was a tendency among all students to use positive stereotypes and positive non-stereotypes in order to rate photographs in a positive direction.

Discussion of Results

There are, therefore, strong indications of a film effect among lower socio-economic whites who became significanly more positive in their evaluation of Negro photographs following the films. The result among higher socio-economic whites had a very slight trend in the opposite direction but the very small sample involved in this result would lead one to dismiss this as meaningless. However, it is difficult to explain why lower socio-economic whites in a small midwestern city would become more threatened by films of successful Negroes while those in a larger metropolitan area would react so much differently. As may be remembered, the investigator hypothesized that in the midwestern schools the Negro student might come to play an important role in the life of his lower socio-economic white counterpart, and that need might develop to see the Negro as an inferior being. As mentioned previously, there were actually very few professional Negroes in this small city, and it may be that whites were very unaccustomed to seeing Negroes in anything but inferior roles. In a larger city with a large Negro middle class, it may not be possible for the lower class white to utilize the Negro as a sort of ego inflating instrument. Certainly, it must also be remembered that there was a substantial middle class Negro population in the eastern school while this was not true of the midwestern junior high where, almost without exception, Negroes fell into the lower class status.

All this again harks back to Bettleheim and Janowitz's (1950) theory regarding the situational nature of most prejudice. The lower class student at School S became less prejudiced, following the films, perhaps because status threat was not present and he had not come to make use of the Negro as an ego inflating device. At Schools F and W, however, the Negro may have come to serve such an ego inflating function so that anything which improved his status became a threat. It may, therefore, be that the Negro at the eastern school simply had not come to play a similar role, perhaps because the presence of middle class Negroes in the school, and a large middle class and professional group in the city, did not make this possible. Hence no cognitive dissonance was set up in the eastern school among the lower class whites, when the films were introduced, and these students were, as a result, able to develop even more favorable attitudes towards Negroes.

Any interpretation of the results found among the middle class at this school are limited because of the tiny sample involved. One wonders whether, if the sample had been larger, there would have been a larger trend in the direction of more negative attitudes towards Negroes following the films. Negroes may offer more competition to the middle class at this school, than they did at School F in the midwest, so that any increase in this competition, in terms of status or prestige, might be expected to result in greater threat and hence greater hostility towards Negroes. Admittedly this is all quite speculative and further investigation with a larger sample would be necessary before any conclusions could be drawn.

As may also be remembered by the reader, there were five items on the Forced Choice Sentence Completion which attempted to measure status or prestige needs among white students. These are marked as W items in the appendix where a copy of this test may be found. It was felt that a correlation might be found between the post-test scores on these W items and increases in hostility towards Negroes, as measured by a more negative perception of the Negro photographs. Thus, correlations were made between post-test W scores and changes in trait ratings from pre- to post-testing on the Negro photographs for experimentals and controls. One would have predicted that the correlations would be much higher for the experimentals since, conceivably, some of them should have been threatened by the films. However, the correlation for experimentals between post-test W score and change in a negative direction on Negro photos was found to be only .1422 which, with a standard error of .2714, gives a z score of 0.52 which is non-significant. The correlation for controls was even higher, r=.2765, and with a standard error of .2418 this gave a z score of 1.14 which, again, was non-significant. Perhaps, however, these results may have been more dramatic if the films had produced more prejudice in the sample. One would still wonder, therefore, whether these correlations might have been much higher if data had been drawn from a suburban white sample similar to School S in the midwestern study.

Part D

Semantic Differential Ratings of Films

Following each film, students were asked to give their impressions of the man seen in the movie using a semantic differential rating technique. A copy of this is contained in the appendix. Traits were rated on a five point scale and for purposes of analysis they were grouped in pairs to form the following factors: Competence - composed of ratings on "expert - ignorant" and "Trained - untrained." Dynamism - composed of traits "quick - slow" and "alert - tired." Trustworthiness composed of "honest - dishonest" and "kind - unkind." Validity - composed of "real - make-believe" and "true - false." Typicality - composed of "rare - common" and "typical - unusual."

One of the reasons for this feature was the hope that it might also help to disguise the purpose of the experiment (i.e. the relationship between films and pre- and post-testing) since the students were being asked to give their opinions about these new kinds of "vocational" films. There was also an opened-ended question regarding their feelings about the films, asking for any criticisms they might have to offer.

It had also been assumed, however, that the film ratings might be related to the students reactions on post-testing. For example, would white students who wished to dismiss the impact of the films, in order to maintain prejudiced feelings, rate the Negro models as make-believe, false, untrustworthy, etc.? Would Negroes who changed most in racial self-concept or vocational aspirations be those who were most positive in their evaluations of the films of Negroes?

On the whole, however, the film ratings revealed very little new information. All correlations found were very low and in some cases were not even in the predicted direction. In this section only the film ratings in the midwestern city will be presented because of the fact that there was too much loss of data of this nature in the eastern city sample. Seeing the movies in large groups gave students too much opportunity to either not fill out their film forms after each movie, or to fill them out only partially.

Since no statistical differences were found in terms of the various factors (ie. trait combinations) used, analysis was done using the total scores for all ten traits (or five factors). Table XXXI does show some significant differences when white students at Schools S, F and W were compared on the basis of total film trait ratings for Negro films.

Table XXXI

Analysis of Semantic Differential Reaction to Negro Films by White Junior High Students at Schools S, F and W

Source	df	MS	F ratios	Direction of Change
Schools (S, F & W)	2	2232.13	3.13#	School F more positive than Schools W and S
Father's Occupation	1	2790.18	3.91#	High Occupation more positive than low occup.
School and Occupation	2	214.10	.30	
Error	134	712.73		

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significant at the .05 level

The significant School interaction (F=3.13, significant at the .05 level) revealed that white students at School F (which is over 50% Negro) rated Negro films more positively than students at Schools W (20% Negro) and S (the all white suburban school) whose ratings were somewhat more identical to one another. There was also a significant interaction in terms of father's occupation and Negro film ratings (F=3.91, significant at the .05 level). This was due to the fact that higher socio-economic students gave the most positive ratings to Negro films. Although there was no significant School - Father's Occupation interaction it might be noted, from the means presented in Table XXXII, that the tendency was for higher socio-economic whites at School S to rate films less positively than their counterparts at Schools F and W. This does agree with the results of post-testing where, it will be remembered, higher socio-economic whites at School S became more prejudiced towards Negroes, following films, while higher socio-economic whites at Schools F and W tended to become more positive.

Table XXXII

Mean Ratings on Semantic Differential for High and Low Occupation Whites at Schools S, F and W[1]

	Low Occupation	High Occupation
School S	1.53	1.37
School F	1.76	1.53
School W	1.76	1.66

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[1] These represent mean ratings per trait with a score of one for positive and five for negative.

An attempt was made to see whether there was a relationship between total semantic differential ratings on Negro films and changes on the Social Survey Questions for higher and lower socio-economic whites. These results revealed only a tendency for a more positive change on the SSQ to be related to a more positive evaluation of the Negro films among the higher socio-economic experimentals (r=.2567). Low occupation experimentals, on the other hand, show an even larger, though non-significant r. in the non-predicted direction. Thus the r. of .2759 seems to indicate that lower socio-economic experimentals, who liked the Negro films least, tended to change most positively on the SSQ.

When an attempt was made to correlate film scores with trait assignments to Negro photographs among students at School S, the results were again disappointing. Thus a correlation of r.=.1056 was found between scores on Negro films and trait assignments made to Negro photographs by high occupation experimentals but this was in the non-predicted direction and actually showed a trend (though quite non-significant) for dislike of films to be connected with more positive ratings of photos. When a similar comparison was made for lower socio-economic experimentals the r.=2349 was in the expected direction with liking of films connected to positive trait ratings to photos. Again, however, this r. was too small for statistical significance.

Little more was found among elementary whites. Thus whites at integrated elementary schools showed a slight tendency for a positive reaction to Negro films to be related to a positive response to Negro photographs but the r.=.0967 came nowhere near the level required for statistical significance. At the all white elementary school the correlation was not only very low, but in the non-predicted direction. Here an r.=.0010 showed a trend for more positive trait assignments to Negro photographs to be related to disliking the Negro films.

The situation when Negro subjects were examined was no better. Liking Negro films, among elementary Negro students, was found to be related to raising vocational aspirations but this r.=.0295 is nothing more than a trend. This trend was in the same direction for raising vocational aspirations among junior high school Negroes, but again it was non-significant (r.=.2268). Again when an attempt was made to correlate film ratings with the evaluation of Negro photographs, among Negroes, the obtained correlations appear are either small or make little sense. Thus, although elementary Negro students showed a mild tendency for liking of films to be connected to liking Negro photographs (r.=.1390), junior high school students showed a correlation in the non-predicted direction with liking of films related to disliking Negro photos (r.=.3582, significant at the .05 level).

All in all this seems to indicate that immediate reaction to films bore little relationship to how an individual would feel about Negroes himself, race, or any other of the post-test measures made one month following the last film. It suggests the possibility of an incubatio effect which takes some time to reveal itself. Another possibility could be that there had been a cumulative dislike of Negro films, increasing from the first to the last, so that an overall ratingsof all Negro films masked this tendency. However, an examination of the means for films reveals no such trend. The last film shown (physician-pharmacologist) is liked as well as the first film encountered (systems engineer). Thus the possibility of an incubation effect is strengthened and one might wonder whether the post-test results would have been similar if they had been given just a few days, rather than a month, following the last film in the series.

One other possibility which might explain these confusing results may be that the students simply didn't take this task very seriously. Supposedly, they were giving their reactions to the films in order to give the school some idea of whether the films would be a good method of imparting vocational information. Pre- and post-testing, however, was introduced as a psychological experiment and perhaps the students might have been more willing to treat this task more seriously. At any rate, for whatever the reasons, there seems to be little or no relationship between the students immediate reactions to the films, as gauged by the film questionnaires, and their later reactions to the tests used to gauge attitude changes.

Summary and Implications

There was considerable evidence generated in this study that films of successful Negroes, who have overcome racial, economic or other personal obstacles in order to achieve success, can have a positive inspirational impact on Negro youth. In a small midwestern city, Negro elementary and junior high school students became more optimistic about their chances for future occupational success following the films. These results could not be replicated in the same way with students in a large eastern city but this may have been due to unavoidable problems which interfered with adequate reception of the film message as well as difficulties in proper test administration. However, all Negroes, regardless of grade level or regional residence did seem to improve in their racial self-concept, at least insofar as this was measured by their reaction to anonymous Negro photographs. There was also some suggestion that a positive increase in racial self-concept may also be accompanied by an increase in hostility towards whites, perhaps as a result of internalized hostility and self-hate being released and externalized. If this is true, it may have important implications for the future of the civil rights movement since we may have to expect, perhaps as only a transitional process, an increase in the amount of hostility demonstrated towards whites, on the part of Negroes, as they begin to develop an increasing sense of racial pride and a more positive image of themselves. One need only look to the changes which have already taken place in most civil rights organizations to see evidence of this already, since neither white leadership nor white membership is as welcome as it had formerly been. The Black Muslims and other "black power" organizations offer even more dramatic examples of this phenomenon. Thus, it may well be that before the Negro can truly come to accept and approve of himself as a Negro, he may first have to rejec and dispel, on to the white world, the hostility which this world originally created within him.

An even more distressing suggestion in the findings is the possibility that as the Negro grows in self-acceptance, with increasing hostility towards whites, there may also accompany this even greater resistance on the part of whites who have grown to need their perception of the Negro as an inferior person. Status and prestige needs may, therefore, be threatened by a growing Negro middle class and the result may be a loss of support for the Negro cause by the white middle class who have, in the past, perhaps been the greatest source of assistance for civil rights groups. This exodus of whites from civil rights may, as mentioned, be encouraged by the increasing hostility of the Negroes who will invite them to leave.

This study also tends to lend greatest support to a situational view of prejudice since one gains the impression, from the data, that increased prejudice or negative feelings towards Negroes depended upon "whose toes the films stepped on". The white suburban population in the midwest demonstrated fairly positive attitudes towards Negroes until prestige needs were threatened. At that point they became more prejudiced than the originally higher prejudiced lower class. Thus one would predict that high upward mobility may leave one open to the development of greater prejudice, especially in a society where the Negro is on the move in an upwardly mobile direction. This would seem at first glance to disagree with the observations of Bettleheim and Janowitz (1950), and others who found that upward mobility was negatively correlated with prejudice towards Negroes. However, this may depend upon which Negroes one has in mind - i.e. slum dwellers, factory workers, or Negroes wealthy enough to move next door and compete for one's job. If one is a tool and die maker, Negro physicians may be much more tolerable than Negro tool and die makers, and if one is a physician, Negro skilled technicians may be perfectly acceptable but not Negro physicians.

The fact that the white lower class students in integrated schools in the midwestern city seemed to become more negative towards Negroes, following the films, while lower class students, in the eastern sample, became more positive, may, as mentioned previously, be due to the social conditions of Negroes in one city as opposed to another. As was already suggested, lower socio-economic students in the former city had probably had little experience with middle class Negroes, and it was hypothesized that the Negroes in this setting had come to serve an ego inflating need similar to the role of the Negro in the eye's of the poor white southerner. Could one then state that the difference in the results found in the eastern city mean that this need will dissipate, over time, as the lower class student has more and more contact with Negroes from all social classes?

Will he be able to modify his perception of Negroes more easily and more positively as the number and kinds of contacts with them increase? It has always been a popular conception (among the educated and more wealthy middle class) to think of the real hard-core prejudice as residing mostly in the minds of the lesser educated and disadvantaged. However, perhaps the greatest resistance that the Negro may meet in the future may come from this same middle class, while the greatest support the Negro may receive, as time progresses, may come more and more from the lower class whose contacts with Negroes, especially in integrated school settings, become more numerous in kind and quality. There is also the suggestion that integration of Negroes with whites, when these Negroes represent only one social class rather than being more heterogeneous in nature, may also create a need within lower class whites, who are confronted with no other evidence to the contrary about the Negro's capabilities, to place and then keep the Negro in an inferior position in order to enhance their own position. The suggestion is contained here that it is not only lack of information per se which helps create or perpetuate prejudice, but it may help to create a situation in which information or evidence to the contrary is not welcomed any longer because certain needs have developed around belief systems which have arisen as a result of the misinformation. Thus the cognitive dissonance which a successful Negro can generate in a small town or in a white suburb is probably much greater than that which can be generated in a large metropolitan integrated school. Again, however, reactions will depend upon whose belief systems are being "stepped on" by this new information.

One important question which immediately occurs is whether the effects of films already reported were temporary and if so, how temporary? Certainly there is already adequate research to indicate that any change in attitude created by films or any other mass communication media must have further reinforcement if it is to persist over time. It is, of course, already known that the present investigator's film effects were at least of one month duration since post-testing was not done until that amount of time had elapsed. It would also not be too surprising to find that the answer to this question may vary a great deal depending upon whether one is referring to changes among Negroes, changes among whites or direction of change. For example Allport (1954) has commented that prejudice, once established, often has a self-perpetuating quality. In addition, the threat posed to the middle class by the civil rights movement, particularly when one considers the suburban riots which took place so recently in Milwaukee and Chicago, could mean that this group is only too prone now to react to selective information which might appear to threaten their status or position. There is certainly already abundant evidence in the literature to show that persons misperceive, distort, and select information in accordance with their own needs and fears (Allport and Postman, 1945; Hovland et.al. 1957; Kendall and Wolf, 1949). It is also not hard to conceive of how a Negro professional would be much more threatening to a suburban white dweller than a Negro unskilled laborer, since who does the white suburbanite actually fear will buy a $25,000 or $30,000 home in his neighborhood? Certainly not someone on a salary of $4,000 per year. Thus it might well be that the increase in prejudice found among the middle class might have much greater duration than the decrease in prejudice found among the lower class suburbanite.

The question also arises whether there would be further changes in the feelings of prejudice of white students if one film series which created status or prestige threat was then followed by a second series which did not. Would it depend upon whether the first or the second series involved status threat? Some tentative answers to these questions might be predicted from Festinger's (1957) theories concerning cognitive dissonance which, of course, could also be used as a model to conceptualize all of the changes in attitudes reported thus far. For example, the data reported on changes in the middle class white suburban dwellers could be conceptualized as resulting from cognitive dissonance (i.e. increased prejudice following films of professional Negroes). Prior to the films we would hypothesize that Negroes were perceived as an unfortunate group of persons who probably deserved some sympathy and who offered little threat to a detached middle class who could then afford their "liberal" attitudes without fear of personal discomfort or involvement. When, however, Negroes were suddenly seen as a more threatening and powerful force, fear and hostility was created, and in order to resolve the cognitive dissonance which evolved when a supposed weak and inferior group was suddenly perceived as a strong and potent economic competitor, more negative and prejudicial attitudes towards Negroes were called into play - attitudes which put the Negro "back in his place." Festinger predicts that once a new decision has been reached in order to reduce cognitive dissonance, any reversal of this decision becomes more difficult than would have been true if the decision had never been made. If we can think of the shifts in prejudicial attitudes as decisions, then it might be predicted that there would be little effect in following the film series of Negro professionals with the film series of Negro skilled technicians among the white middle class. In this same vein, introducing the films of skilled technicians to lower class suburbanites following the film series of professionals should not result in the same increase in prejudice that would take place if the skilled technicians were the first twelve films to be viewed by this group. These, however, merely represent tentative hypotheses which could be tested at some future date.

Certainly this study has probably generated more questions than it has answered. The importance of some variables could not really be studied because of the limited size of most samples. For example, sex differences could be determined only in the midwestern suburban white sample and here it had no apparent impact for girls became as prejudiced (if they were middle class) as boys. Certainly, however, a more adequate measure of social class than father's occupation might be desirable. Could some of the results found in this suburb have been reversed if the films had been of Negro skilled technicians - i.e would the lower class suburbanite have been most threatened in this case? In addition, the importance of the kind and quality of previous contact of whites, with Negroes, could only be inferred in this study since no information of this nature was available. The previous experience of the Negroes was also unknown. What would the impact of these films be on recently arrived rural southern Negroes? Were there sex differences among Negroes? There was also an inadequate sample of middle class Negroes and the small number which was available gave results which tended to hint at the possibility that this film technique may be more successful with lower class Negroes. Another important aspect which was suggested in the eastern city results was in terms of age or grade level. There was, for example, some hint that Negroes in the upper grade levels (Grades XI and XII) may be negatively affected by the films in terms of their personal concept of themselves and their optimism about their own future success even though they were able to develop an increased sense of pride in their race. However, the numbers available here were too small to allow for anything more than speculation.

All in all, however, the outlook for the near future does not seem bright. More racial violence and even greater resistance on the part of whites, perhaps especially middle class whites, may be in the offing. It may therefore be that the situation will have to get worse before it can and will improve.

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Film Presentation Instructions (Used in All Sections)

The Board of Education and your school has decided to try a new method of bringing vocational information to you. Although there are many pamphlets and abundant literature which you can read about occupations, it was felt that the opportunity to meet real persons who are actively involved in various careers might give you a more realistic picture of what it would actually be like to enter a particular occupation or profession. Thus, over the next twelve weeks, you are going to have an opportunity to meet, by way of films, persons who will talk to you about themselves, their work, and how they became involved in their particular occupations, in the hope that it may help some of you decide on your future careers. You will have an opportunity to become acquainted with these people by viewing them at their work and in their homes in order that you may begin to see how a vocation can affect a person's entire life, not only in terms of what he does at work, but also in terms of his entire sphere of interests both on and off the job.

At the end of each film we are going to ask you to fill out some short scales which will gauge your impression of the films and determine how much value you feel each had. Please be frank about your reactions for we want to find out if you, the students feel they are worthwhile and whether they have helped you in any way in deciding what you would eventually like to do. We also realize, of course, that twelve films cannot possibly cover the entire range of available careers and therefore many of you may not see an occupation represented that actually interests you. We are, however, interested in whether this technique of occupational information is useful or valuable and whether it should be expanded in the future.

Scale Used To Gauge Individual Film Reactions
(Section A, B and C)

NAME ______________________________ GRADE ___________________________

SCHOOL ___________________________________

I. Vocational Attitude: Make a check in the appropriate space beside one of the statements below.

____I feel very interested in (please fill in vocation of film just viewed) ____________________ since seeing this film.

____I feel more interested in this vocation since seeing this film.

____I feel neither particularly more interested nor particularly more disinterested in this vocation since seeing this film.

____I feel less interested in this vocation since seeing this film.

____I feel completely disinterested in this vocation since seeing this film.

II. Personal Feelings: Make a check in the appropriate space beside one of the statements below.

____I feel that I would probably like the person in the film very much.

____I feel I would probably like this person to a slight degree.

____I feel I would probably neither particularly like nor particularly dislike this person.

____I feel I would probably dislike this person to a slight degree.

____I feel I would probably dislike this person very much.

III. Please rate the person you have just seen in the film on each of the following scales. You will note that there are five points on each scale and you should make a mark with your pencil somewhere on each scale showing how you felt about the person. For example, the scale below deals with pleasant-----unpleasant. If you felt that the person in the film was very pleasant, you wwould place a mark (X) very near the pleasant and close to #2.

	2	1	0	1	2	
Pleasant	X					Unpleasant

If, on the other hand, you felt he was very unpleasant, you would place a mark (X) at the other end close to #2.

	2	1	0	1	2	
Pleasant					X	Unpleasant

If you felt he was only mildly pleasant, you would place a mark (X) closer to #1 on the pleasant side--or at any point on the pleasant side that expressed the degree of pleasantness. If you felt he was unpleasant, then you would place your "X" anywhere between 0 and 2 on the unpleasant side. However, if you had no feeling at all about whether he was pleasant or unpleasant, you could show this by placing your "X" in the center of the line at "0". If you have any questions, please ask--otherwise continue on and rate the person you have just seen in the film on each of the following scales. Be sure to put a mark on each scale showing how you felt about him.

	2	1	0	1	2	
expert						ignorant

	2	1	0	1	2	
typical						unusual

honest 2 1 0 1 2 dishonest

rare 2 1 0 1 2 common

quick 2 1 0 1 2 slow

fiction 2 1 0 1 2 fact

alert 2 1 0 1 2 tired

real 2 1 0 1 2 make-believe

false 2 1 0 1 2 true

trained 2 1 0 1 2 untrained

kind 2 1 0 1 2 unkind

IV. Please write any comments you have to make about the film you have just seen. Do you feel it was worthwhile? Why, or why not?

Pre-Test Instructions (Used in All Sections)

We are conducting a research project which involves the ability to tell about people simply on the basis of how they look. You may not be aware of this but some psychologist feel that you can tell a great deal about a person simply by looking at them. As a matter of fact a psychologist by the name of Susan Deri actually developed a test, called the Szondi test, which consisted of photographs of real people, and she felt that many individuals were able to tell a great deal about the persons in the photographs because they reacted, without really being aware of it, to certain things about the persons' faces. Dr. Deri felt that just looking at someone's face gives us information about that person even though we might not know we are receiving it. Some of you may remember times in which you had a hunch about someone you looked at - a hunch about the kind of person they were, even though you had not really met the person and actually knew nothing about him or her. Dr. Deri would say that you were responding unconsciously to something in that person's face even though you weren't actually aware of receiving the information.

Today we are going to ask you to make judgments about photographs of real people. We are going to ask you to make what we call "educated guesses" about them. It is important that you give your first reaction to a photograph without thinking about your reasons too much -- give your "gut reaction" or what you immediately feel as you look at the photo.

We are also trying to relate the ability to tell things about people just by looking at them to other things about yourself such as your goals for the future and your interests and feelings about people. Thus we will ask you to fill out some other short tests too. Again, please do not try to analyze or think about your feelings concerning a photo - just give your first hunches of feelings as you view the photograph.

Post-Test Instructions (Used in All Sections)

Some of you may recall the tests that we are asking you to take today in that we conducted a survey of this nature last (name of month). For others this will be the first time that you have seen these tests.

We are conducting a research project which involves the ability to tell about people simply on the basis of how they look. You may not be aware of this but some psychologists feel that you can tell a great deal about a person simply by looking at them. As a matter of fact a psychologist by the name of Susan Deri actually developed a test, called the Szondi test, which consisted of photographs of real people and she felt that many individuals were able to tell a great deal about the persons in the photographs because they reacted, without really being aware of it, to certain things about the persons' faces. Dr. Deri felt that just looking at someone's face gives us information about that person even though we might not know we are receiving it. Some of you may remember times in which you had a hunch about someone you looked at - a hunch about the kind of person they were, even though you had not really met the person and actually knew nothing about him or her. Dr. Deri would say that you were responding unconsciously to something in that person's face even though you weren't actually aware of receiving the information.

Today we are going to ask you to make judgments about photographs of real people. We are going to ask you to make what we call "educated guesses" about them. It is important that you give your first reaction to a photograph without thinking about your reasons too much -- give your "gut reaction" or what you immediately feel as you look at the photo.

Now many of you have taken this test previously may wonder why we are asking you to do it again.[1] The reason for this is that we are interested in whether the fact that you have had the experience of trying this before will enable you to make better guesses than someone doing it for the first time. In short you have had some practice. Will you do better than someone who didn't have this practice? However, it is important that you do not try to let your previous guess affect the way you guess this time because remember, you don't know whether your last guesses were actually correct or not. Perhaps you were right last time, but perhaps you were wrong. The important thing to do this time is to respond with the first reaction as you look at the photos -- give the first thing you think of without wondering about what you did or did not say last time. Now, remember, try not to let what you did last time affect what you do this time in a conscious way -- just react with your feelings about the photographs as you look at them.

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[1] This statement is made in spite of the fact that probably all students have taken it before. It must be made since we are presumably also testing some groups of students for the first time.

We are also trying to relate the ability to tell things about people just by looking at them to other things about yourself such as your goals for the future and your interests and feelings about people. Thus, we will ask you to fill out some other short tests too. Again, please do not try to analyze or think about your feelings concerning a photo - just give your first hunches or feelings as you view the photographs.

Face Sheet Used For All Students

The information on all these tests is confidential and will not be given to anyone or used in any way except for the purposes of this experiment.

NAME____________________________ MALE______ DATE____________________

DATE OF BIRTH___________________ FEMALE____ AGE AT LAST BIRTHDAY___

NAME OF SCHOOL________________________________ GRADE____________

How many brothers do you have?____________ Give their ages__________

How many sisters do you have?_____________ Give their ages__________

Check any or all of the following which are applicable:

Father living______ Parents still married____ Parents divorced____

Mother living______ Parents separated________ Mother remarried____

Father remarried____

Father's Occupation___________________ Describe briefly what he

does for a living:____

Mother's Occupation___________________ Describe briefly what she

does for a living - (If she is a housewife, write "housewife")

____

Father's Education		Mother's Education	
Circle highest grade reached:		Circle highest grade reached:	
Grade School	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	Grade School	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
High School	1 2 3 4	High School	1 2 3 4
College	1 2 3 4	College	1 2 3 4
Graduate School	1 2 3 4	Graduate School	1 2 3 4
Beyond College		Beyond College	

Photograph Technique for Grades V and VI (Section A and B)

Please look at Photograph #1 and then at the list of jobs listed below. We want you to try and "guess" or make a judgment as to which job you feel this man is most likely to hold. You are to list your first two choices below. Begin with the job you feel most sure he does and then the next job which you feel he might do. Remember, although you feel that you are guessing wildly, our hunch is that you are probably relying on tiny cues in the face, of which you are unaware, but which are actually helping you to make the right choice. Some of you may be better in this kind of "guessing" and this is what we are trying to find out. Don't spend too much time on your choices but rely on your feelings or hunches. This may help you in making "educated guesses" and aid you in making the correct choice.

I feel most sure that the man in photograph #1 is a:*

1st choice_____________________ 2nd choice_____________________

lawyer	86	barber	59
scientist	89	gas station attendant	52
janitor	44	car mechanic	66
factory worker	59	mailman	66
repairman for radio and TV sets	67	college professor	89
teacher in public school	78	doctor-physician	93
dentist	86	clerk in store (salesman)	58
city policeman	67	garbage collector	35
truck driver	54	street sweeper	34

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* Only the response to first choice was analyzed because of the target spread effect in which the second choice often seemed to represent a conscious attempt to make a far different response in order to avoid being too wrong.

Now look over the list of jobs again and decide which two occupations the man in the photograph is least likely to have. Again list them in order beginning with the job you feel most sure is not his job.

I feel most sure that the man in photograph #1 is not one of the following:*

1st choice______________________ 2nd choice______________________

Now look at photograph #1 again. This time you are going to make the same kind of "educated guess" about what kind of a person he is. Again, rely on your hunches about the kind of person he may be after looking at his face.

I think the man in photograph #1 is: Circle the words which show where your hunch is. Thus, if you feel that he is probably almost always cheerful circle the words "always cheerful." If, however, you feel he is probably hardly ever cheerful then circle the words "hardly ever cheerful". If you feel he is not a cheerful person then you will circle "never cheerful" and if you feel he is often cheerful, then circle those words.

	1	2	3	4
1.	Always Cheerful	Often Cheerful	Hardly ever Cheerful	Never Cheerful

Now do the same for the words on the next page. On each line circle the words that best describe the man in photograph #1.

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* Only the first choice was analyzed for the reasons reported on the previous page.

2.	1 Always sure of self	2 Often Sure of self	3 Hardly ever sure of self	4 Never sure of self
3.	4 Always Cruel	3 Often Cruel	2 Hardly ever Cruel	1 Never Cruel
4.	4 Never Honest	3 Hardly ever Honest	2 Usually Honest	1 Always Honest
5.	4 Always Stupid	3 Often Stupid	2 Hardly ever Stupid	1 Never Stupid
6.	1 Always Happy	2 Often Happy	3 Hardly ever Happy	4 Never Happy
7.	1 Never Bad	2 Hardly ever Bad	3 Often Bad	4 Always Bad
8.	Never good in sports	Hardly ever good in sports	Often good in sports	Always good in sports
9.	4 Never Kind	3 Hardly ever Kind	2 Often Kind	1 Always Kind
10.	4 Always Dirty	3 Often Dirty	2 Hardly ever Dirty	1 Never Dirty
11.	1 Never Rude	2 Hardly ever Rude	3 Often Rude	4 Always Rude
12.	4 Always Selfish	3 Often Selfish	2 Hardly ever Selfish	1 Never Selfish
13.	4 Always Lazy	3 Often Lazy	2 Hardly ever Lazy	1 Never Lazy

Photograph Technique for Grade IX Students (Section A and B)

Please look at Photograph #1 and then at the list of occupational categories listed below. We want you to try and "guess" or make a judgment as to which job you feel this man is most likely to hold. You are to list your first five choices below. Begin with the job you feel most sure he does and then list in order the next four jobs which you feel he might do. Remember, although you may feel that you are guessing wildly, our hunch is that you are probably relying on tiny cues in the face, of which you are unaware, but which are actually helping you to make the right choice. Some of you may be more skilled in this kind of "guessing" and this is what we are trying to determine. Don't spend too much time on your choices but rely on your feelings or hunches. This may help you in making "educated guesses" and aid you in making the correct choice.

I feel most sure that the man in photograph #1 is a:*

1st choice________________________

2nd choice________________________

3rd choice________________________

4th choice____________________

5th choice____________________

radio and TV repairman	67
lawyer	86
clerk in general office	62
bank teller	67
scientist	89
janitor	44
hospital attendant or aide	45
factory worker	59
teacher in a public school	78
welder	59
mail carrier	66
artist	83
machine operator	60
dentist	86
city policeman	67
office manager	70
filling station attendant	52
electrical or mechanical engineer	80
social worker	74
college professor	89
truck driver	54
stock broker	79
automobile mechanic	66
physicain	93
barber	59

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* Only the first choice response was analyzed because students seemed to be giving their "gut reaction" hunch here and then using the other choices to cover as much of the target as possible inorder to "cover all bets". This was especially true of the second choice which was often found to be at almost the opposite end of the prestige scale from the first choice.

Now look over the list of occupations again and decide which five occupations the man in the photograph is least likely to be involved in. Again list them in order beginning with the job you feel most sure is not his occupation.

I feel most sure that the man in photograph #1 is not one of the following:*

1st choice________________________ 4th choice_______________________

2nd choice________________________ 5th choice_______________________

3rd choice________________________

Now look at photograph #1 again. This time you are going to make the same kind of "educated guess" about his personality. Again, rely on your hunches about the kind of person he may be after looking at his face.

I think the man in photograph #1 is: Make an "X" anywhere on the line to show where your hunch is. Thus if you feel that he is probably almost always cheerful make your "X" at the extreme left. If, however, you feel he is probably quite cheerful then make your "X" closer to the midpoint but to the left of it. If you feel he is not a cheerful person then you will make your "X" more to the right of the midpoint. And, if you feel he is a most uncheerful person then your "X" will be made at the extreme right side of the line.

Always Cheerful	Very Cheerful	About as Cheerful as most	Rarely Cheerful	Never Cheerful

/______1______/______2______3______4______/______5______/

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* Here again only the first choice was analyzed for the same reasons reported on the previous page.

Always Irresponsible | Very Irresponsible | About as Irresponsible as most | Rarely Irresponsible | Never Irresponsible

3

/ 5 / 4 / 2 / 1 /

Never Stubborn | Rarely Stubborn | About as Stubborn as most | Very Stubborn | Always Stubborn

3

/ 1 / 2 / 4 / 5 /

Never Courteous | Rarely Courteous | About as Courteous as most | Very Courteous | Always Courteous

3

/ 5 / 4 / 2 / 1 /

Never Musical | Rarely Musical | About as Musical as most | Very Musical | Always Musical

3

/ 5 / 4 / 2 / 1 /

Always Moody | Very Moody | About as Moody as most | Rarely Moody | Never Moody

3

/ 5 / 4 / 2 / 1 /

Always Generous | Very Generous | About as Generous as most | Rarely Generous | Never Generous

3

/ 1 / 2 / 4 / 5 /

Never Boasting | Rarely Boasting | About as Boasting as most | Very Boasting | Always Boasting

3

/ 1 / 2 / 4 / 5 /

Always Deeply Religious | Very Deeply Religious | About as Deeply Religious as most | Rarely Deeply Religious | Never Deeply Religious

3

/ 1 / 2 / 4 / 5 /

Vocational Aspirations Form

List, in order of preference, the two occupations or jobs that you would most like to do after you finish school. Begin with the job or occupation you would most like to do and then follow this with the job which you would next most like to do. Do not consider your abilities or job opportunities in making this list - just consider whether you think you would be happy in the work.

I would most like to become a:

1st choice________________________

2nd choice________________________

Now list those jobs or occupations which you actually think you might end up doing. In some cases these may be very different from your previous choices and in some cases they may be similar. You may, for example, think to yourself: "Well...although I'd like to become a (some job)...the chances are a lot greater that I'll end up doing (____ job) or (____ job)". Just try to be realistic and put down, in order, those jobs which you feel you'll actually end up doing.

I think I'll probably end up as a:

1st choice________________________

2nd choice________________________

How certain are you that you will end up doing these particular jobs? Check one.

Very Certain__________ Somewhat Uncertain__________

Very Uncertain________

Prejudice Instrument Used Only in Suburban White School
(Section B)

Social Survey Questions

This is a study of what the general public thinks about a number of social questions. The only best answer to each statement below is your honest personal opinion. We have tried to cover many different points of view. You may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly or even angrily with others, and perhaps being uncertain about others. Whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that many people feel the same way you do. Please mark each statement in the left-hand margin according to your agreement or disagreement as follows:

+1: Slight support, agreement

+2: Moderate support, agreement

+3: Strong support, agreement

-1: Slight opposition, disagreement

-2: Moderate opposition, disagreement

-3: Strong opposition, disagreement

Thus, if you find yourself strongly supporting or agreeing with a statement, you should put a +3 in the blank beside that statement. If you disagree strongly, then you should put a -3 in the blank--or whatever number - or + that indicates your true feelings.

1. What youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.

2. Some equality in marriage is a good thing, but by and large, the husband ought to have the main say in family matters.

N^1 3. The real reason for the high unemployment rate among Negroes is that they lack the incentive to really seek work.

4. The many political parties tend to confuse national issues, add to the expense of elections, and raise unnecessary agitation. For this and other reasons, it would be best if all political parties except the two major ones were abolished.

F^1 5. The worst danger to real Americanism during the last 50 years has come from foreign ideas and agitators.

6. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.

7. Patriotism and loyalty are the first and most important requirements of a good citizen.

8. Now that there is a U.N., America must be sure that she loses none of her independence and complete power as a sovereign nation.

F 9. Many Latin American countries will probably never advance to the standards of living and civilization of the United States.

N 10. It would be a mistake to have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites.

11. Certain religious sects whose beliefs do not permit them to salute the flag should be forced to conform to such a patriotic action, or else be abolished.

12. America may not be perfect, but the American Way has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.

13. People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.

14. Minor forms of military training, obedience, and discipline, such as drill, marching and simple commands, should be made part of the elementary school educational programs.

N 15. Negroes may have a part to play in white civilization, but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools and to prevent too much intermixing with whites.

16. Science has its place but there are many important things that must always be beyond human understanding.

17. It is only natural and right for each person to think that his family is better than any other.

F 18. There is something different and strange about many minority groups (such as Chinese, Mexicans, Negroes, Jews); it's hard to tell what they are thinking and planning and what makes them tick.

F 19. Any group or social movement which contains many foreigners should be watched with suspicion and, whenever possible, be investigated by the FBI.

20. The most important qualities of a real man are determination and a driving ambition.

N 21. Negroes are too superstitious to ever become great scientists

22. Most of our social problems would be solved if we would somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked people.

F 23. World War II proved that we must be very careful never to trust foreign countries.

24. The best guarantee of our national security is for America to have the biggest army and navy in the world and the secrets of the atom bomb.

25. The best teacher or boss is one who tells us just exactly what is to be done and how to go about it.

N 26. Manual labor and menial jobs seem to fit the mentality and ability of most Negroes.

27. A woman whose children are at all messy or rowdy has failed in her duties as a mother.

28. No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relation.

29. If a child is unusual in any way, his parents should get him to be more like other children.

N 30. The people who raise all the talk about putting non-whites on the same level as whites and giving them the same privileges are mostly radical agitators trying to stir up conflicts.

31. More than anything else, it is good hard work that makes life worthwhile.

32. There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.

F 33. World War II proved that the Japanese were war-like and dangerous, and America should always be on its guard and keep foreigners out of the country.

34. One main difficulty with allowing the entire population to participate fully in government affairs (voting, jobs, etc.) is such that a large percentage is by nature unintelligent and incapable.

F 35. There will always be wars because, for one thing, there will always be races who ruthlessly try to grab more than their share.

F 36. The most vicious, irresponsible, and racketeering organizations are, in most cases, those having largely foreigners for leaders.

N 37. Most Negroes would become overbearing and disagreeable if given the change.

38. There will always be superior and inferior nations in the world and in the interests of all concerned, it is best that the superior ones be in control of world affairs.

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[1] N refers to Negro items and F refers to foreigner and minority group items. These symbols were not present during test administration, however.

Storage and Processing of Data

The check-marks placed at various points along the rating scales in the pre- and post-test booklets were initially converted into numeric form. These numbers were then entered on IBM sheets having 1:1 correspondence with the standard IBM punch card. A deck of IBM cards was then automatically generated from these sheets. Since the data of the average subject required more than one such card, a disk-pack was utilized in the permanent storage of each subject's data, in order to avoid the constant handling of cards. The data of a given S occupied roughly 320 disk columns.

In addition, each S had a unique identification number assigned to his data record on the disk, as well as a multi-digit group identification code which included information on the school which he attended, his status as a member of either the experimental or control group, the occupational level of his father, number of brothers and sisters, his race and sex, etc. This group coding enabled us to place a given S in any desired category for any given data run, where the number of categories and their characteristics could be changed from one analysis to another without making any changes in the data on disk.

Summary data was generated by a specially written program for analysis of variance, which was the major statistical method. Since the form of the analysis of variance, to be described in detail later in this section, was usually complex and involved combination of between -S, within -S, and nested factors, in addition to unequal cell frequencies, the data outputted by the computer system was not finished F-rations but rather groups sums, sums of squares, and squares of sums. The use of this intermediate computer output provided maximum flexibility in computation of main and simple effects while at the same time relegated the time-consuming summing and squaring to the IBM system.

One of the most important features of this system was the careful control it gave in the selection of Ssfor any given analysis. After instruction the system as to how the between-subject categories were to be formed, it was possible to place an upper limit on the number of Ss included in any given category in order to maintain proportionality of cell frequencies. Since many analyses simultaneously considered many responses per subject, sometimes cast into a two- or three-factor within-subject matrix, we wished to include only those Ss whose data was complete for that run. Any Ss not possessing complete data was automatically eliminated from that run, thus eliminating the necessity of prorating for missing data or maintaining proportionality of frequency on a within-subject basis.

Sampling Technique and Statistical Analysis of Data

Some mention should be made of the sampling procedure used in this type of study. When showing the films, it was necessary to work with intact classroom-groups in order to maintain the credibility of the announced purpose of the films, namely to provide information on vocational opportunities. Thus instead of strictly random assignment to either the experimental (film) or control (no-film) group on an individual S basis, an entire classroom-group was randomly designated as experimental or control. Although for purposes of analysis it was assumed that the assignment to either film group was random and independent, the experimental design actually was one involving a nested or heirarchial factor: classroom-groups within a particular school x film cell. One could argue that the assumption of independent sampling was justified by the fact that the unit of analysis was invariably a pre- to post-test difference score and the fact that pre-test performance did not deviate to any appreciable extent from the theoretical midpoint of the rating scale. If pre-test performance did in fact differ as a function of classroom-group, the only manner in which this initial difference could contaminate the difference score would be if there was some interaction between the initial level of performance and the amount of change in response possible, in the fashion of some ceiling or baseline effect. However, the fact that the initial (pre-test) performance was so close to the medial value of the scale would tend to rule out any possible ceiling or baseline effects.

As mentioned previously, the majority of numerical analysis was done by analysis of variance and type of design employed was typically factorial. The between-subject variability was divided into as many as three factors: films vs. no films, school, and occupational level of father. Separate analyses have always been conducted for the different races. The majority of analyses have involved repeated measures on the same subject. For example, the ratings of personality traits involved a total of 100 responses for the junior high school students. The 20 responses made to each of the five photos were initially classified into four trait categories reflecting positive and negative Negro stereotypic items and positive and negative non-stereotype items. In addition, the five photos were classed as belonging to either the white or Negro race as well as on the basis of individual models within race (a nested factor). Therefore in this hypothetical analysis, within subject variability was divided into three components: race of photo, model within race, and type of trait. This method of analysis is characteristic of all the statistical tests made in that any particular design involving repeated measures was broken down into the appropriate intra-S variance components.

The reason for using multi-factor analysis of variance has been the desire to detect any significant interaction effects. Previous analyses contain many examples of this type of effect, one of the more striking of which was the responses made to statements concerning attitudes toward racial minorities on the part of junior high school students from an all-white school in Racine. In this case, the films served to increase hostility toward Negroes on the part of higher occupational students, while decreasing prejudice among members of the lower occupational groups.

Informal inspection of the data has revealed that the requirements of normality of distribution and homogeneity of variance were adequately fulfilled. After an overall analysis of variance, tests on simple main and interaction effects were conducted only if justified by significant interactions. Any individual a posteriori comparisons necessary after tests on simple effects were made according to conventional procedures.

Table Ia

Occupational Assignments Made to White and Negro Photographs (First Choices for What I think He Does for a Living) by Elementary Negro Students

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Subjects	59		
Film Effect	1	451.414	2.12
Error	58	212.824	
Race of Photograph	1	5825.614	12.99**
Film Effect - Race of Photo	1	1192.915	2.66
Error	58	448.301	
Individual Photograph	3	914.591	2.06
Film Effect - Indiv. Photo	3	57.579	.13
Error	174	443.864	
Totals	299	419.879	

** significant at the .01 level

Table IIa

Complete Analysis of Variance on Personality Traits Assigned to White and Negro Photos by 5th and 6th Grade Negro Students

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Subjects	65		
Film Effect	1	5.115	1.30
Father's Occupation	1	0.538	.14
Films - Father's Occupation	1	0.050	.01
Error	62	3.919	
Personality Traits	5	1.290	1.21
Films - Personality Traits	5	2.012	1.89
Father's Occup. - Person. Trt.	5	1.121	1.05
Films - Fa. Occup. - Prs. Trt.	5	1.267	1.19
Error	310	1.062	
Race of Photograph	1	9.056	4.59*
Films - Race of Photo	1	10.388	5.26*
Father's Occup. - Race Photo	1	4.108	2.08
Films - Fa's Occup. - Race	1	0.540	.27
Error	62	1.974	
Individual Photograph	3	5.187	3.327
Films - Indiv. Photo	3	2.446	1.569
Father's Occup. - Ind. Photo	3	1.054	.67
Films - Fa. Occup. - Ind. Photo	3	1.163	.75
Error	186	1.559	
Personal. Trait - Race Photo	5	1.224	1.40
Film - Trait - Race Photo	5	0.309	.36
Fa. Occup. - Trait - Race	5	1.170	1.34
Film - Fa. Occup. - Trt. - Race	5	0.814	.93
Error	310	0.874	
Personal. Trait - Ind. Photo	15	0.995	1.30
Film - Trait - Photo	15	0.781	1.02
Occup. - Trait - Photo	15	1.160	1.52
Film - Occup. - Trait - Photo	15	0.128	.17
Error	930	0.764	

* significant at the .05 level

Table IIIa

Occupational Assignments Made to White and Negro Photographs (First Choices for What I Think He Does for a Living) by Grade IX Negroes

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Subjects	46		
Film Effect	1	67.559	.13
Error	45	524.791	
Race of Photograph	1	63.650	.16
Film Effect - Race of Photo	1	666.788	1.69
Error	45	396.188	
Individual Photograph	3	1872.727	5.93**
Film Effect - Indiv. Photo	3	789.548	2.50
Error	135	315.735	
Totals	234	396.425	

** significant at the .01 level

Table IVa

Complete Analysis of Variance for Personality Trait Assignments to White and Negro Photographs by Grade IX Negroes

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Subjects	44		
Film Effect	1	0.022	0.0
Error	43	27.879	
Personality Traits	3	8.333	0.52
Films - Traits	3	1.239	0.08
Error	129	15.889	
Race of Photo	1	11.854	0.59
Films - Race of Photo	1	50.062	2.53
Error	43	19.776	
Individual Photograph	3	7.195	0.41
Films - Individual Photo	3	134.809	7.69**
Error	129	17.548	
Personality Trait - Race	3	3.408	0.38
Films - Trait - Race	3	4.539	0.52
Error	129	8.796	
Trait - Individual Photo	9	6.003	1.00
Films - Trait - Photo	9	9.233	1.54
Error	387	5.980	

**Significant at the .01 level

Table Va

Occupational Assignments Made to White and Negro Photographs (First Choices for What I Think He Does for a Living) by Grade IX White Students in Schools S, F, and W

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Subjects	251		
School - (Schools S, F, & W)	2	668.494	2.72
Film Effect	1	638.578	2.59
Father's Occupation	1	1114.464	4.53*
School - Film Effect	2	281.210	1.14
School - Fa's Occup.	2	231.623	.94
Film - Fa's Occup.	1	41.620	.17
School - Film - Fa's Occup.	2	119.440	.48
Error	240	246.107	
Race of Photo	1	368.206	1.07
School - Race of Photo	2	3.823	.01
Film - Race of Photo	1	9.253	.03
Fa's Occup. - Race of Photo	1	3.071	.01
School - Film - Race Photo	2	240.188	.70
School - Occup. - Race	2	280.317	.82
Film - Occup. - Race	1	276.351	.81
School - Film - Occup. - Race	2	204.444	.60
Error	240	342.758	
Individual Photograph	3	118.356	.42
School - Indiv. Photo	6	126.904	.45
Film - Indiv. Photo	3	357.321	1.26
Fa's Occup. - Indiv. Photo	3	169.338	.60
School - Film - Indiv. Photo	6	317.372	1.12
School - Fa's Occup. - Photo	6	81.402	.29
Film - Fa's Occup. - Photo	3	392.419	1.39
School - Film - Occup. - Photo	6	354.190	1.25
Error	720	282.723	
Totals	1259	285.775	

* significant at the .05 level

Table VIa

Personality Traits Means of White and Negro Photographs for Pre- and Non-Pretested White Junior High Students Separated for High and Low Father Occupation

		Pre White	Post White	Pre Negro	Post Negro	Number S's
School F[1] High Occup.	Exp. Pre	2.87	2.79	2.68	2.74	11
	Con. Pre	2.59	2.73	2.46	2.60	11
School F[1] Low Occup.	Exp. Pre	2.79	2.83	2.57	2.56	11
	Con. Pre	2.73	2.52	2.46	2.29	11
School W High Occup.	Exp. Pre	2.85	2.83	2.62	2.53	19
	Con. Pre	2.76	2.69	2.35	2.35	19
	Exp. Non-Pre		2.82		2.65	21
	Con. Non-Pre		2.80		2.50	24
School W Low Occup.	Exp. Pre	2.83	2.76	2.53	2.78	19
	Con. Pre	2.83	2.97	2.59	2.70	19
	Exp. Non-Pre		2.85		2.74	34
	Con. Non-Pre		2.79		2.64	20
School S High Occup.	Exp. Pre	2.64	2.73	2.55	2.65	34
	Con. Pre	2.71	2.76	2.64	2.65	34
	Exp. Non-Pre		2.67		2.66	25
	Con. Non-Pre		2.78		2.59	30
School S Low Occup.	Exp. Pre	2.69	2.70	2.69	2.67	34
	Con. Pre	2.66	2.68	2.68	2.73	34
	Exp. Non-Pre		2.92		2.90	15
	Con. Non-Pre		2.70		2.66	15

[1] There were no non-pretested students at school F.

Table VIIa

Complete Analysis of Variance of Personality Trait Assignments to White and Negro Photographs for Grade IX White Students at Schools F, S and W

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Subjects	255		
School (F, S, W)	2	20.633	1.27
Film Effect	1	0.469	.03
Father's Occupation	1	2.859	.17
School - Film Effect	2	10.843	.67
School - Father's Occupation	2	163.556	10.09**
Film Effect - Father's Occupation	1	0.002	0
School - Film - Father's Occup.	2	117.834	7.27**
Error	244	16.216	
Personality Trait	3	257.506	14.25**
School - Personality Trait	6	19.060	1.05
Film Effect - Personality Trait	3	5.913	.33
Father's Occup. - Personal. Trt.	3	2.592	.14
School - Film - Personal. Trt.	6	6.673	.37
School - Father's Occup. - Per. Trt.	6	25.988	1.44
Film - Father's Occup. - Per. Trt.	3	8.132	.45
School - Film - Occup. - Per. Trt.	6	5.662	.31
Error	732	18.067	
Race of Photograph	1	15.408	.38
School - Race of Photograph	2	20.893	.51
Film Effect - Race of Photograph	1	8.735	.21
Father's Occup. - Race of Photo.	1	8.534	.21
School - Film - Race of Photo.	2	10.788	.27
School - Father's Occup. - Race	2	23.507	.58
Film - Father's Occup. - Race Photo.	1	5.053	.12
School - Film - Occup. - Race	2	81.405	1.99
Error	244	40.937	
Individual Photograph	3	9.675	.42
School - Individual Photograph	6	20.245	.88
Film Effect - Individual Photo.	3	22.846	.98
Father's Occup. - Individual Photo	3	22.046	.96
School - Film - Individual Photo	6	62.318	2.68*

School - Fa. Occup. - Photo	6	28.680	1.23
Film - Fa. Occup. - Photo	3	6.793	.28
School - Film - Occup. - Photo	6	32.303	1.39
Error	732	23.296	
Personality Trait - Race of Photo	3	3.683	2.80*
School - Trait - Race of Photo	6	3.914	2.93**
Film - Trait - Race	3	0.682	.52
Fa. Occup. - Trait - Race of Photo	3	9.824	7.33**
School - Film - Trait - Race	6	23.322	17.43**
School - Occup. - Trait - Race	6	0.336	.25
Film - Occup. - Trait - Race	3	1.914	1.44
School - Film - Occup. - Trt. - Race	6	5.410	4.04**
Error	732	1.338	
Trait - Individual Photograph	9	20.616	2.63**
School - Trait - Photograph	18	9.987	1.27
Film - Trait - Photograph	9	7.182	.92
Fa's Occup. - Trait - Photo	9	7.161	.92
School - Film - Trait - Photo	18	6.746	.85
School - Occup. - Trait - Photo	18	3.216	.41
Film - Occup. - Trait - Photo	9	7.628	.99
School - Film - Occup. - Trt. - Photo	18	16.749	2.14**
Error	2196	7.839	
Totals	5119	13.094	

* significant at the .05 level
** significant at the .01 level

Table VIIIa

Some Simple Effects at School S for Personality Trait Assignments to White and Negro Photographs[1]

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Film - Father's Occup. - Trait - Race of Photo	3	9.777	.67
Film - Father's Occup.	1	42.074	2.64
Film - Occup. - Race	1	10.878	.75
Film - Occup. - Trait	3	246.672	17.00**
Film - Occup. - Non-Stereo. Traits	1	56.826	3.92*
Film - High Occup.- Non-Stereo. Traits	1	62.406	4.30*
Film - Low Occup. - Non-Stereo. Traits	1	7.620	.52
Film - Trait - Race	3	6.897	.47
Film - Personality Trait	3	6.719	.46
Film - Race of Photo	1	0.837	.06
Film - Occupation - Trait - Indiv. Photo	9	6.989	.53
Film - Occup. - Indiv. Photo	3	8.496	.64
Occupation and Experimentals	1	70.662	4.87*
Occupation and Controls	1	0.012	0

* significant at the .05 level
**significant at the .01 level

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[1] For all schools, components of Film - Occupation - Trait - Race interaction were tested by pooled (SWG) + (Trait x SWG) + (Race x SWG) + (Trait x Race x SWG) df=1952, MS=14.508. Components of Film - Occupation - Trait - Indiv. Photo were tested by pooled (SWG) + (Trait x SWG) + (Photo x SWG) + (Trait x Photo x SWG) df=3904, MS=13.180.

Table IXa

Some Simple Effects at School F for Personality Trait Assignments to White and Negro Photographs[1]

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Film - Father's Occup. - Trait - Race	3	10.032	.69
Film - Father's Occup.	1	193.828	13.36**
Film - Occupation - Trait	3	5.635	.38
Film - Occupation - Race	1	17.159	1.18
Film - Trait - Race	3	4.036	.28
Film - High Occup.	1	72.820	5.02*
Film - Low Occup.	1	124.445	8.58**
Film - Occup. - Trait - Individual Photograph	9	6.231	.47
Film - Occup. - Photo	3	25.085	1.90
Film - Trait - Photo	9	8.795	.67
Film - Photo	3	66.860	5.07**
Film - Photo #1	1	111.364	8.45**
Film - Photo #2	1	41.051	3.11
Film - Photo #3	1	28.642	2.17
Film - Photo #4	1	2.511	.19
Film - Photo #5	1	20.455	1.55
Occup. and Experimentals	1	4.602	.32
Occup. and Controls	1	307.782	21.21**

* significant at the .05 level
**significant at the .01 level

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[1] For all schools, components of Film - Occupation - Trait - Race interaction were tested by pooled (SWG) + (Trait x SWG) + (Race x SWG) + (Trait x Race x SWG) df=1952, MS=14.508. Components of Film - Occupation - Trait - Indiv. Photo were tested by pooled (SWG) + (Trait x SWG) + (Photo x SWG) + (Trait x Photo x SWG) df=3904, MS=13.180.

Table Xa

Some Simple Effects at School W for Personality Trait Assignments to White and Negro Photographs[1]

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Film - Father's Occup. - Trait - Race of Photo	3	2.291	.16
Film - Occupation - Trait	3	81.737	5.63**
Film - Occupation - Race	1	140.411	9.68**
Film - Trait - Race	3	6.897	.40
Film - Occup. & -Stereo.	1	0.445	.03
Film - Occup. & +Stereo.	1	5.095	.35
Film - Occup. & -NonSt.	1	8.853	.61
Film - Occup. & +NonSt.	1	0.318	.02
Film - Trait - Low Occup.	3	6.711	.39
Film - Trait - High Occup.	3	5.511	.38
Film - Occup. - White Photo	1	90.948	6.27*
Film - Occup. - Negro Photo	1	55.684	3.84*
Film - High Occup. - White	1	4.246	.29
Film - Low Occup. - White	1	130.561	9.00**
Film - High Occup. - Negro	1	18.013	1.24
Film - Low Occup. - Negro	1	39.083	2.74
Film - Race - High Occup.	1	21.075	1.45
Film - Race - Low Occup.	1	146.738	10.11**
Film - Occupation - Photo	3	46.603	3.54*
Film - Photo - High Occup.	3	1.146	.09
Film - Photo - Low Occup.	3	67.993	5.16*
Film - Photo #1 - Low	1	17.112	1.30
Film - Photo #2 - Low	1	222.737	16.90**
Film - Photo #3 - Low	1	0.658	.05
Film - Photo #4 - Low	1	81.059	6.15*
Film - Photo #5 - Low	1	55.684	4.22*
Occup. and Experimentals	1	55.837	3.85*
Occup. and Controls	1	126.447	8.72**

* significant at the .05 level
**significant at the .01 level

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[1] For all schools, components of Film - Occupation - Trait - Race interaction were tested by pooled (SWG) + (Trait x SWG) + (Race x SWG) + (Trait x Race x SWG) df=1952, MS=14.508. Components of Film - Occupation - Trait - Indiv. Photo were tested by pooled (SWG) + (Trait x SWG) + (Photo x SWG) + (Trait x Photo x SWG) df=3904, MS=13.180.

Table XIa

Occupational Assignments Made to White and Negro Photographs (First Choices for What I Think He Does for a Living) by Elementary White Students in Integrated and Suburban Schools

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Subjects	79		
School (integrated & suburban)	1	217.286	.72
Film Effect	1	30.803	.10
Father's Occupation	1	637.563	2.10
School - Film Effect	1	239.034	.79
School - Fa's Occup.	1	12.574	.04
Film Effect - Fa's Occup.	1	21.622	.07
School - Film - Fa's Occup.	1	398.244	1.31
Error	72	303.333	
Race of Photograph	1	893.040	1.57
School - Race of Photo	1	576.859	1.02
Film Effect - Race of Photo	1	6.827	.01
Fa's Occup. - Race of Photo	1	70.042	.12
School - Film - Race of Photo	1	386.925	.68
School - Occup. - Race of Photo	1	150.049	.26
Film - Occup. - Race of Photo	1	1655.961	2.92
School - Film - Occup. - Race	1	214.441	.38
Error	72	567.492	
Individual Photograph	3	607.766	1.44
School - Indiv. Photo	3	761.162	1.80
Film Effect - Indiv. Photo	3	220.027	.52
Fa's Occup. - Indiv. Photo	3	35.836	.08
School - Film - Indiv. Photo	3	238.359	.56
School - Occup. - Indiv. Photo	3	1697.946	4.03
Film - Occup. - Indiv. Photo	3	734.526	1.74
School - Film - Occup. - Photo	3	485.837	1.15
Error	216	421.712	
Totals	399	435.200	

Table XIIa

Analysis of Personality Trait Assignments to White and Negro Photographs by Integrated and Suburban White Elementary School Students

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Subjects	89		
School (integrated vs suburban)	1	14.831	4.46*
Film Effect	1	20.289	6.10*
Father's Occupation	1	.002	0
School - Film	1	5.513	1.66
School - Occupation	1	11.667	3.51
Film - Occupation	1	3.787	1.14
School - Film - Occup.	1	0.534	.16
Error	82	3.328	
Trait	5	0.430	.58
School - Trait	5	0.534	.72
Film - Trait	5	0.270	.36
Occup. - Trait	5	0.762	1.03
School - Film - Trait	5	0.094	.13
School - Occup. - Trait	5	0.982	1.32
Film - Occup. - Trait	5	0.658	.88
School - Film - Occup. - Trt.	5	1.378	1.85
Error	410	0.743	
Race of Photograph	1	0.501	.24
School - Race of Photo	1	4.106	1.95
Film - Race of Photo	1	0.462	.22
Occup. - Race of Photo	1	0.846	.40
School - Film - Race of Photo	1	8.798	4.18*
School - Occup. - Race of Ph.	1	1.830	.87
Film - Occup. - Race of Photo	1	3.681	1.75
School - Film - Occ. - Race	1	0.600	.28
Error	82	2.107	
Individual Photograph	3	0.254	.20
School - Indiv. Photo	3	0.923	.72
Film - Indiv. Photo	3	0.841	.65
Occup. - Indiv. Photo	3	1.368	1.06
School - Film - Indiv. Photo	3	1.336	1.04

School - Occup. - Ind. Photo	3	1.585	1.23
Film - Occup. - Indiv. Photo	3	0.890	.69
School - Film - Occ. - Ind. Ph.	3	0.143	.11
Error	246	1.285	
Trait - Race of Photograph	5	0.859	1.44
School - Trait - Race of Photo	5	0.517	.86
Film - Trait - Race of Photo	5	0.513	.86
Occup. - Trait - Race of Photo	5	0.050	.08
School - Film - Trt. - Race	5	0.211	.35
School - Occup. - Trt. - Race	5	0.910	1.53
Film - Occup. - Trt. - Race	5	0.177	.30
School - Film - Occ. - Trt.-Ra.	5	0.238	.40
Error	410	0.597	
Trait - Individual Photo	15	0.499	.89
School - Trait - Indiv. Photo	15	0.322	.57
Film - Trait - Indiv. Photo	15	0.214	.38
Occup. - Trait - Indiv. Photo	15	0.555	.99
School - Film - Trt. - Ind. Ph.	15	0.262	.47
School - Occ. - Trt. - Ind. Ph.	15	0.051	.09
Film - Occ. - Trt. - Ind. Ph.	15	0.349	.62
School - Film - Occ.- Trt.- Ph.	15	0.572	1.02
Error	1230	0.561	
Totals	2699	0.809	

* significant at the .05 level

Table XIIIa

Analysis of Personality Trait Assignments to White and Negro Photos, Ignoring Father's Occupational Level, for Integrated and Suburban White Elementary Students

Source	df	MS	F ratios
School(integrated vs suburban)	1	7.28	2.18
Film	1	21.98	6.58*
School - Film	1	10.21	3.06
Error	134	3.34	
Trait	5	0.34	.42
School - Trait	5	1.37	1.69
Film - Trait	5	0.27	.33
School - Film - Trait	5	0.51	.63
Error	670	0.81	
Race of Photograph	1	0.41	.24
School - Race of Photo	1	5.02	2.95
Film - Race of Photo	1	0.04	.02
School - Film - Race of Photo	1	4.95	2.91
Error	134	1.70	
Individual Photograph	3	0.08	.06
School - Indiv. Photo	3	1.09	.89
Film - Indiv. Photo	3	1.17	.95
School - Film - Indiv. Photo	3	0.60	.49
Error	402	1.23	
Trait - Race of Photo	5	0.88	1.57
School - Trait - Race of Photo	5	0.81	1.45
Film - Trait - Race of Photo	5	0.39	.70
School - Film - Trt.- Race	5	0.93	1.66
Error	670	0.56	
Trait - Indiv. Photo	15	0.40	.59
School - Trait - Indiv. Photo	15	0.23	.34
Film - Trait - Indiv. Photo	15	0.53	.78
School - Film - Trt.- Ind. Ph.	15	0.07	.10
Error	2010	0.68	

* significant at the .05 level

Photograph Technique for Students (Section C)

Please look at Photograph #1 and then at the list of occupational categories listed below. We want you to try and "guess" or make a judgment as to which job you feel this man is most likely to hold. You are to list your first choice below. Remember, although you may feel that you are guessing wildly, our hunch is that you are probably relying on tiny cues in the face, of which you are unaware, but which are actually helping you to make the right choice. Some of you may be more skilled in this kind of "guessing" and this is what we are trying to determine. Don't spend too much time on your choice but rely on your feelings or hunches. This may help you in making "educated guesses" and aid you in making the correct choice.

I feel most sure that the man in photograph #1 is a:

1st choice________________________

electrical or mechanical engineer	80	gas station attendant	52
machine operator (factory)	60	lawyer	86
office manager	70	janitor	44
street sweeper	34	teacher in public school	78
scientist	89	radio and TV repairman	67
truck driver	54	druggist	75
physician	93	waiter in restaurant	48
factory worker (assembly line)	59	clerk in general office	62

Now look over the list of occupations again and decide which occupation the man in the photograph is least likely to be involved in.

I feel most sure that the man in photograph #1 is not a:

1st choice______________________

Now look at photograph #1 again. This time you are going to make the same kind of "educated guess" about his personality. Again, rely on your hunches about the kind of person he may be after looking at his face.

I think the man in photograph #1 is: Make an "X" anywhere on the line to show where your hunch is. Thus if you feel that he is probably almost always cheerful make your "X" at the extreme left. If, however, you feel he is probably quite cheerful then make your "X" closer to the midpoint but to the left of it. If you feel he is not a cheerful person then you will make your "X" more to the right of the midpoint. And, if you feel he is a most uncheerful person then your "X" will be made at the extreme right side of the line.

Always Cheerful	Very Cheerful	About as Cheerful as most	Rarely Cheerful	Never Cheerful

/ 1 / 2 3 4 / 5 /

Always Irresponsible	Very Irresponsible	About as Irresponsible as most	Rarely Irresponsible	Never Irresponsible

/ 5 / 4 3 2 / 1 /

Never Stubborn	Rarely Stubborn	About as Stubborn as most	Very Stubborn	Always Stubborn

/ 1 / 2 3 4 / 5 /

Self Concept and Envy or Prestige Threat Scale (Section C)

Please read the statements below and the three possible answers supplied for each. Place a check in front of one of the answers as quickly as you can, choosing the one answer that most agrees with your feelings. Please don't skip any questions - check one answer for each question. Even if you feel that none of the answers really adequately reflects your attitude, check one of them anyway. Place a check in front of the answer that is closest to your feeling.

Example: I like:

__✓Big parties
___To watch TV
___To attend baseball games

This person answered that he would most like to go to big parties if he had a choice between parties, TV or a baseball game.

NOW PLACE ONE CHECK BEFORE THE ANSWER THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOUR FEELINGS ABOUT EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS.

1. The happiest time of my life:

___Was when I was a child
___Is probably right now
___Will probably come in the future

2. When I ride on a bus:

___I read the signs
___I watch the people around me
___I get lost in my own thoughts and pay no attention to others

P.T.* 3. I envy most:

___People who are born with money
___People who are better looking than me
___People who are more successful than me

S.C.* 4. I secretly:

___Wish I were smarter
___Am pround of myself
___Wish I were someone else

5. I think a lot about:

___The war in Viet Nam
___Girls (or boys)
___Where I'll be in the next 10 years

6. Too many parents:

___Won't let their children grow up
___Have too many rules
___Let their kids get away with murder

7. Most teachers:

___Show more interest in other students than they do in me
___Seem interested in their work and try to help
___Show little interest in any of their students

P.T. 8. I really get angriest when:

___I seem somebody putting on big airs
___I see somebody being pushed around
___Somebody acts like they're as good as me when I know they're not

* P.T. = prestige threat items.
S.C. = self-concept items.

9. I live my life:

___From one day to the next
___Making plans for the future
___Thinking mostly about the past

S.C. 10. I most often:

___Feel dissatisfied with myself
___Hate myself
___Am pretty content with the way I am

11. When I talk to people I:

___Often find it hard to look at them in the eye
___Am never really aware of where I'm looking
___Make a point of looking them in the eye

12. The kind of TV programs I like most are:

___Westerns
___Spy stories
___Comedies

P.T. 13. A lot of people:

___Really deserve all the good things that happen to them
___Get big ideas about themselves when they do well and need to be slapped down
___Get better breaks than me

14. My greatest hope is:

___To make a lot of money
___To have a happy marriage
___To get a job I really like

S.C. 15. Often I find myself ashamed of:

___Myself and my friends
___Myself
___Myself, my friends and my family

S.C. 16. When I first meet someone:

___I am surprised if they seem to like me
___I usually feel very comfortable
___I expect the worst and usually get it

17. My greatest worry is:

___Whether I'll have a happy life
___Whether I'll have good health
___Whether I'll be successful

18. As a child I used to wish that:

___I had more things than the other kids
___I could be bigger and stronger (or prettier if a girl)
___I had as much as the other kids I played with

P.T. 19. What really gripes me is:

___People who get things they don't deserve
___When I feel I've been cheated
___When I see somebody getting a dirty deal

S.C. 20. Sometimes I really wish:

___I had been born a different person
___That my parents had more advantages
___That I could keep things just the way they are now

21. My father used to:

___Be away from home a lot
___Take me places with him a great deal
___Pay little attention to me even when he was home

P.T. 22. Life would be a lot better for me if:

___My home were neater
___We had a bigger house
___My father had a better job and was more important

Table XIVa

Analysis of Occupational Assignments (What He Does for a Living) Made to Negro and White Photographs by Negro Students With Father's Occupation Considered

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Film Effect	1	47.76	0.19
Father's Occupation	1	38.55	0.15
Films - Occupation	1	135.42	0.53
Error	53	254.87	
Race of Photograph	1	2440.84	9.36**
Film - Race of Photo	1	5.34	0.02
Occupation - Race of Photo	1	153.55	0.59
Film - Occup. - Race	1	2773.42	10.63**[1]
Error	53	260.84	
Individual Photograph	3	384.95	0.97
Film - Individual Photo	3	329.14	0.83
Occupation - Photo	3	350.42	0.88
Film - Occupation - Photo	3	207.46	0.52
Error	159	396.49	
Films - Occup. - White Pho.	1	590.18	2.29
Films - Occup. - Negro Pho.	1	2318.67	8.99**
Films - Negro Pho.- Low Occ.	1	276.27	1.07
Films - Negro Ph.- High Occ.	1	2080.33	8.07**

** significant at the .01 level

[1] Since this is the only occasion in which there was a film effect interaction with occupational assignments to photos in the entire study, and because of the fact that the number of higher socio-economic students were very small and did not even show similar results in terms of trait assignments to photos, this F ratio was felt to be a chance one and was therefore not reported in the result section.

Table XVa

Analysis of Occupational Assignments (What He Does for a Living) Made to Negro and White Photographs by Negro Students With Grade Level Considered

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Grade Level	1	80.89	0.35
Film Effect - Grade	1	0.78	0.00
Error	50	228.64	
Grade - Race of Photo	1	763.68	2.85
Film - Grade - Race	1	42.21	0.16
Error	50	267.54	
Grade - Individual Photo	3	394.85	1.06
Films - Grade - Photo	3	128.80	0.34
Error	150	374.08	

Table XVIa

Analysis of Occupational Assignments (What He Does for a Living) Made to White and Negro Photographs by White Students With Father's Occupation Considered

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Film Effect	1	75.65	0.38
Father's Occupation	1	64.69	0.33
Films - Father's Occup.	1	20.53	0.10
Error	36	196.92	
Race of Photograph	1	0.76	0.00
Films - Race of Photo	1	265.07	0.82
Occupation - Race	1	4.97	0.01
Films - Occup. - Race	1	4.57	0.01
Error	36	322.07	
Individual Photograph	3	64.70	0.23
Films - Photo	3	111.22	0.39
Occupation - Photo	3	294.44	1.04
Films - Occup. - Photo	3	396.33	1.40
Error	108	282.50	

Table XVIIa

Analysis of Trait Assignments to White and Negro Photographs by Negro Students With Grade Considered

Source	df	MS	F ratios
Grade Level	1	20.67	0.47
Films - Grade	1	3.91	0.09
Error	56	44.44	
Grade - Personality Trait	3	45.06	2.09
Films - Grade - Trait	3	19.81	0.92
Error	168	21.51	
Grade - Race of Photo	1	22.30	0.69
Films - Grade - Race	1	0.05	0.00
Error	56	32.27	
Grade - Individual	3	11.71	0.38
Films - Grade - Photo	3	12.56	0.41
Error	168	30.81	
Grade - Trait - Race	3	57.04	3.35*
Films - Grade - Trait - Race	3	2.60	0.15
Error	168	17.03	
Grade - Trait - Photo	9	22.19	1.62
Film - Grade - Trait - Pho.	9	23.43	1.71
Error	504	13.75	

* significant at the .05 level

Table XVIIIa

Analysis of Trait Assignments to Negro and White Photographs by All Low Occupation Negroes

Source	df	MS	F ratios	
Film Effect	1	59.90	1.33	
Error	50	44.94		
Personality Trait	3	115.73	4.55*	
Films - Trait	3	17.50	0.69	
Error	150	25.45		
Race of Photo	1	28.95	0.92	
Films - Race	1	40.38	1.29	
Error	50	31.38		
Individual Photo	3	42.71	1.34	
Films - Photo	3	56.57	1.78	
Error	150	31.86		
Trait - Race	3	51.20	2.68*	
Films - Trait - Race	3	1.62	0.08	
Error	150	19.13		
Trait - Photograph	9	21.15	1.39	
Films - Trait - Photo	9	0.61	.04	
Error	450	15.24		
Films and White Photos	1	3.91	0.10	
Films and Negro Photos	1	96.37	2.53	
Error	100	38.16		
Films and Photo #1	1	15.96	0.45	Exp.more neg.than Con.
Films and Photo #2	1	18.99	0.54	Exp.more neg.than Con.
Films and Photo #4	1	159.33	4.54*	Exp.more pos.than Con.
Films and Photo #3	1	51.75	1.64	Exp.more pos.than Con.
Films and Photo #5	1	39.48	1.12	Exp.more pos.than Con.
Error	200	35.13		

* significant at the .05 level